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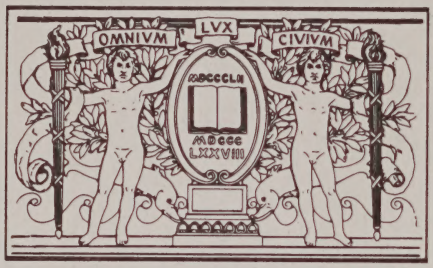

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NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. LXXII.

JULY, 1831.

ART. I.—*The Laws of Population and Wages.*

1. *Two Lectures on Population, delivered before the University of Oxford in Easter Term*, 1828. By NASSAU WILLIAM SENIOR, late Fellow of Magdalen College, A. M., Professor of Political Economy. To which is added, a Correspondence between its Author and the Rev. T. R. Malthus. 8vo. pp. 90. London. 1828.
2. *Three Lectures on the Rate of Wages, delivered before the University of Oxford in Easter Term*, 1830; *with a Preface on the Causes and Remedies of the present Disturbances.* By the same. 8vo. pp. 62. London. 1830.
3. *Three Lectures on the Cost of obtaining Money, and on some Effects of Private and Government Paper Money, delivered before the University of Oxford in Trinity Term*, 1829. By the same. 8vo. pp. 103. London. 1830.

The author of these works appears before the public under the imposing character of Professor of Political Economy in the University of Oxford. This Professorship is a recent establishment. It was founded by the munificence of a private gentleman, Henry Drummond, Esq., upon a plan, as far as we are informed, before untried. The Professor is appointed for five years, and is bound by the charter to publish annually one or more of his lectures. He is not eligible for a second term. One object of this arrangement is understood to be that of obtaining successively from the same chair, a developement of the different, and in some respects contradictory theories,

which prevail in different circles respecting some of the leading points in the science. It was also probably supposed, that, as the acceptance of a Professorship of this description would not be understood to involve an abandonment of other pursuits, a competent person might be secured at less expense than would be necessary on the usual system. Without inquiring at present whether the new plan be or be not on the whole an improvement, we have no hesitation in saying, that we know of no way in which the required amount of funds could have been employed with better effect for the advancement of knowledge, and the permanent satisfaction and reputation of their owner, than in founding this Professorship. We cannot but hope that the example may serve as a guide to the liberality of some of the munificent patrons of learning in this quarter of the Union, where there is yet no establishment devoted exclusively to instruction in this most important subject.

Mr. Senior, the first Professor on the foundation of Mr. Drummond, and whose term of service has, we believe, already expired, appears to have exhibited an industry and zeal in the discharge of his duties, which is creditable to himself, and may be thought to afford a favorable comment on the results of the new plan. His labors, though conducted with a laudable spirit, do not, however, strike us as of any great importance to the science; but as they have attracted some attention in this country, and have even been republished *in extenso* in some of our best newspapers, it may be proper to give them a passing notice. We shall take the different works in the order in which they were published, and first, the Two Lectures on Population.

The causes that regulate the state of population and the effects that result from its increase and diminution, have been for many years past regarded, and with justice, as among the most interesting questions in political economy. The objections to the theory of Malthus on this subject have been repeatedly stated in this journal, and we have, on the same occasions, submitted to the consideration of our readers, what we consider as a more correct opinion.* The principles of Malthus were never, we believe, very generally adopted in this

* See our reviews of A. H. Everett's work on Population, Vol. XVII. p. 288; of McCulloch's Political Economy, Vol. XXV. p. 112; and of Phillips's Manual of Political Economy, Vol. XXXII. p. 215.

country, and appear at present to be gradually losing ground in England, although they are still maintained in the Edinburgh Review, the journal which was chiefly instrumental in recommending them to the public, and the only leading one which has given them a steady and consistent support. Few of the most recent writers on political economy acquiesce in all his conclusions, and many reject them entirely. Mr. Sadler, for example, in a late work, to which we have already adverted, and which we may perhaps hereafter notice in greater detail, has attacked the whole system with great power and success, although he has not, we think, been equally fortunate in establishing another on its ruins. Mr. Senior, though disposed in the main to adopt the principles of Malthus, is evidently shocked and disgusted with his practical conclusions, and endeavors to escape from them by some ingenious distinctions, which, however, he seems at last in a great measure to abandon in the Correspondence, which forms the Appendix to the Lectures. Before we examine the peculiar views of our author, we will briefly recapitulate,—for the purpose of refreshing the memories of our readers,—the leading points of the system of Malthus, and the objections to which, as we conceive, they are liable.

These points, when divested of the mathematical phraseology, under which they were first proposed, are as follows.

1. Population, under ordinary circumstances, increases regularly with great rapidity, excepting so far as it is checked by a deficiency of the means of subsistence.

2. But the means of subsistence at the disposal of any given community, are limited to the produce of the territory it occupies, and can only be increased very slowly and to a comparatively small extent.

3. Therefore, population, at all times and places, regularly outstrips the means of subsistence; thus producing a constant disproportion throughout the world, between the demand for food and the supply of it, or, in other words, a necessary, permanent and universal famine.*

The first of these propositions, Mr. Malthus considers as proved by the single fact of the increase of population, that

* 'At every period during the progress of cultivation, from the present moment to the time when the whole earth shall become like a garden, the distress for the want of food will be more or less constantly pressing on mankind.' *Essay on Pop.* II. 220.

has taken place in these United States; and the second he declares to be self-evident.* The premises being admitted, the conclusions obviously follow of course. The natural disproportion between the demand for, and the supply of, the means of subsistence, which is supposed to be proved by this argument, is considered by its author as the real cause of all the moral and physical evil to be found in the world; and as it is a result of the standing laws of nature, its effects, although they may be in some slight degree palliated, are in the main irremediable. All attempts to bring about any considerable improvement in the existing condition of society, are consequently hopeless, and can only end in disappointment. In the practical application of his conclusions, Mr. Malthus recommends that marriage should be as much as possible discouraged among the mass of the people, and that all public provision for the poor should be abolished. The exercise of private charity, although he does not absolutely prohibit it, has, on his principles, no other operation than to create in one quarter an amount of distress exactly equal to that which it relieves in another.

These doctrines, revolting as they are, are, nevertheless, as we have just remarked, necessary conclusions from the premises of Malthus, and for all who admit the reality of our social and benevolent feelings, amount to a *reductio ad absurdum* of those premises. The objections to the argument, precisely stated, are as follows.

1. Population does *not*, under ordinary circumstances, regularly increase with great rapidity, excepting so far as it is checked by a deficiency of the means of subsistence. The state of population is regulated exclusively by political and moral causes. It has no where, except in cases of accidental scarcity, been, at any time, checked by a deficiency of the means of subsistence; but is, nevertheless, so far from regularly increasing with rapidity, that the population of the globe is not supposed to be greater now than it was four thousand years ago. The United States of America afford an example of a community in which population has increased, for a certain time, with great rapidity; but this example no more proves that such an increase is the general law of population, than the decrease of

* 'The first of these propositions, I considered as proved the moment the American increase was related; and the second proposition as soon as it was communicated.' *Essay on Pop.* II. 453.

population during the same period among our Indian tribes on this continent proves the contrary.

2. The supply of the means of subsistence at the disposal of a given community is *not* limited to the produce of the soil they occupy, but is determined by the effectual demand, that is by the amount of other produce which they have to give in exchange. Hence an increase of population, however rapid it may be, will always be attended by a proportionate increase in the supply of the means of subsistence, provided it be attended, as it naturally must be, with a proportional increase in the amount of labor. If the supply of the means of subsistence afforded by the territory occupied by a given population be exhausted, they employ themselves in making other articles which they give in exchange for the produce of other territories, and the effect of this change is often to reduce instead of raising the cost of provisions. Thus, the manufacturers of the interior of New England are able, at the present moment, to obtain the grain of the Middle States at a less cost than that for which the cultivators in their neighborhood raise their own upon the spot.

3. Both these objections operate directly against the premises of Mr. Malthus, and are each fatal to his argument. It is also liable to another still more decisive objection, which is, that the conclusion is not only not satisfactorily established, but is precisely opposite to that which follows from the true principles of political economy, as applied to this subject; and when these are known, of course falls of itself. In fact, the increase of population, instead of being, as Mr. Malthus supposes, a cause of scarcity, is a cause,—indeed almost the only real and permanent one,—of abundance. It is generally admitted, that the division of labor is the principal means of increasing its productiveness; while it is equally apparent, on the other hand, that the division of labor is occasioned immediately by the increase of population. An increase of population is, therefore, naturally followed by an increase in the productiveness of labor, and of course in the amount of its products as compared with the labor required for producing them. In other words, it is followed by an increased abundance and cheapness of all the necessaries and comforts of life. We find, accordingly, that the real price of provisions is every where uniformly lower and steadier in direct proportion to the density of the population, and not to the fertility of the soil. In Holland, for instance,

one of the most populous, and at the same time, barren regions of the globe, the price of provisions has always been lower and steadier than in almost any other part of Europe. If, then, an increase of population be, in reality, a principle of prosperity and abundance, it is plain that any theory, which undertakes to prove that it is a principle of scarcity, must be,—independently of any direct objection to it,—sophistical and false.

Having thus briefly stated the leading features of the theory of Malthus, and what we consider as the objections to it, for the purpose of refreshing the memories of our readers as to the points in controversy, we shall now proceed to examine the views exhibited in the work before us.

We may remark, in the first place, that Mr. Senior admits without hesitation, both the leading propositions of Malthus.

'We have seen,' says he, 'that as a general rule, additional labor employed in the cultivation of the land within a given district, produces a less proportionate return. And we have seen, that such is the power of reproduction and duration of life in mankind, that the population of a given district is capable of doubling itself at least every twenty-five years. It is clear, therefore, that the rate at which the production of food is capable of being increased, and that at which population, if unchecked, would increase, are totally different.'

The premises of Mr. Malthus being admitted, the conclusions which he draws from them, as we have already remarked, are irresistible. If population naturally increase very rapidly, and food very slowly, it is perfectly obvious, that there must be, as that writer says there is, at all times and in all parts of the world, a constant disproportion between the demand for, and supply of food; or, in his own phrase, a constant pressure of population against the means of subsistence. Mr. Senior, however, though he fully admits the premises, does not appear to relish the conclusion. He cannot shut his eyes to the plain fact, that an increase of population has been generally followed, wherever it has taken place, by an increased abundance of the necessaries and comforts of life. On this subject, he has the following remarks.

'I have nothing to do at present with those portions of capital, which consist of the materials and implements of labor. That they have increased far more than in proportion to the increase of population, is almost too obvious to remark. My present sub-

ject is the relative increase of subsistence. If, after an increase of population, the means of subsistence continue to bear the same proportion to the number of inhabitants as before, it is clear that the increase of subsistence and of numbers has been equal. If the means of subsistence have increased much more than the number of inhabitants, it is clear that the contrary proposition is true, and that the means of subsistence have a natural tendency to increase faster than population.

'Now what is the picture presented by the earliest records of those nations which are now civilized? Or, which is the same, what is now the state of savage nations? A state of habitual poverty and occasional famine. A scanty population, but still scantier means of subsistence. If a single country can be found, in which there is even less poverty than is universal in a savage state, it must be true, that, under the circumstances in which that country has been placed, the means of subsistence have a greater tendency to increase than the population. *Now this is the case in every civilized country.* If it be conceded, that there exists in the human race a natural tendency to rise from barbarism to civilization, and that the means of subsistence are proportionally more abundant in a civilized than in a savage state,—and neither of these propositions can be denied,—it must follow, that there is a natural tendency in subsistence to increase in a greater ratio than population.'

The reader will perceive, that Mr. Senior, after admitting, with Malthus, that population naturally increases much more rapidly than food, now deduces from his own observation of facts, the conclusion, that food naturally increases much more rapidly than population. It might be thought at first view somewhat difficult to reconcile these two propositions; but our author strenuously insists throughout the work, and in his correspondence with Mr. Malthus, that there is, in truth, little or no difference of opinion between himself and that writer. His argument is as follows.

Population naturally increases faster than the means of subsistence, but the desire which every man feels of bettering his condition, which is the motive that induces him to endeavor to increase his means of subsistence, and which leads him to live single while his circumstances are narrow,—in one word, the *moral restraint* of Mr. Malthus,—naturally increases with the progress of society, and checks the increase of population to an extent that more than counterbalances its natural tendency to increase faster than food. The consequence is, that

though population *naturally* increases much faster than food, food *actually* increases much faster than population.

But how does it appear that this desire of bettering our condition, and the *moral restraint* which it produces, actually increase with the progress of society? Mr. Senior argues the point in this way.

'As wealth increases, what were the luxuries of one generation become the decencies of their successors. Not only a taste for additional comfort and convenience, but a feeling of degradation in their absence, becomes more and more widely diffused.'

That is, more persons will rather dine alone on champagne and chickens, than share their roast beef and pudding with a wife and family. Without stopping to inquire how far such a preference would evince a correct notion of the true sources of happiness, we must remark, that the argument of Mr. Senior appears to us to be unsound. Independently of other objections that might be made to it, it evidently assumes the point to be proved. He wishes to show, that in the progress of society, the means of subsistence regularly increase faster than the population; and begins by assuming that in the progress of society *wealth* increases. Now the precise meaning of an increase of wealth is an increase of the means of subsistence relatively to the population; so that, in making this assumption, he falls into the common error of taking for granted the question in dispute. But this is not all. After taking for granted, without proof, the point he wishes to prove, Mr. Senior, in the next following sentence, attempts to establish it on grounds inconsistent with those he had gone upon before, although, in our opinion, much more tenable. He has, in fact, in this passage, hit upon a principle, which, if he had been aware of its importance, and followed it out into its consequences, would have rectified his theory on the whole subject. The sentence immediately succeeding the one last quoted, is as follows.

'The increase, in many respects, in the productive power of labor, which naturally takes place in the progress of society, must enable increased comforts to be enjoyed by increased numbers, and as it is the more beneficial, so it appears to me to be the more natural course of events, that increased comfort should not only accompany but rather precede increase of number.'

In this passage, the increase of the means of subsistence relatively to population, or, in other words, the increase of

wealth, which was just before attributed to an increased prevalence of the so-called *moral restraint* of Mr. Malthus, is now attributed to an increase in the productive power of labor. This statement of two opposite theories in two successive sentences, without any apparent feeling of their inconsistency, shows that Mr. Senior had not taken a clear and comprehensive view of his subject. Of the two theories, the latter is undoubtedly the true one. It is substantially the same with the one which we have stated above as an indirect answer to Malthus; namely, that the increase of population naturally leads to a division of labor, and consequently to an increase in its productive powers. Mr. Senior sees the fact, though he has not seen the importance of it, or felt its inconsistency with his own general system. It is much to be regretted, that, having thus accidentally fallen upon the great truth which really governs the whole subject, the learned Professor should have been so little conscious of its value, that he has turned it to no account, and, in fact, never alluded to it, excepting in this single sentence. Had he given it due weight, it would, as we have remarked, have revolutionized his whole book.

Such, however, is the mode in which our author endeavors to reconcile the premises of Malthus with facts directly contradictory to his conclusions. In supposing, as Mr. Senior does, that the increasing prevalence of moral restraint counteracts the supposed tendency of population to increase more rapidly than food, so as to prevent it from pressing against the means of subsistence, he is wholly at variance with Malthus, as will be recollected at once by all who are familiar with the Essay on Population. It is constantly maintained throughout that work, that, although there may, in the progress of society, be some little increase in the influence of moral restraint, which will palliate in a slight degree the tremendous evils, that are supposed to result from the law of population, yet, that in the main, the principles of human nature will remain as they have always been; and that the evils in question are, under some slight variation of form and extent, necessary and perpetual. This, we say, is the view of Malthus. Mr. Senior, as we have seen, has adopted a different one, and believes that as society advances, a constantly increasing moral restraint overcomes the power of population, and prevents it from exercising its naturally disastrous influence. Notwithstanding this essential difference between their respective theories, Mr. Senior, who

has a talent for reconciling inconsistencies, seems to have satisfied himself that they are perfectly agreed, and has undertaken to convince Mr. Malthus that such is the fact. A correspondence, which has taken place between them on this point, is published as an appendix to the Lectures, and, for such as feel an interest in the subject, forms a very amusing chapter of literary history. We would willingly, if we had it in our power, copy the whole of these letters, but our limits will only allow a short notice of their contents. In the first, Mr. Senior politely addresses his Lectures to Mr. Malthus, and informs him that he at one time supposed that there was a great difference of opinion between them, but that, on further examination, he has ascertained that this difference is comparatively trifling, and in a great measure verbal. Mr. Malthus, in his answer, acknowledges the kind intentions of Mr. Senior in attempting to reconcile the difference between them, and then proceeds to point out, distinctly and forcibly, the nature of this difference, as described above. In a second letter, written in reply to this, Mr. Senior admits that the difference is somewhat greater than he had supposed it to be, and professes his intention to make it smaller, which he proceeds to do, by giving up substantially the whole of his own ground. After stating in his Lectures, that 'it is the natural course of events, that increased comfort should not only accompany, but precede increase of numbers,' and that there is a 'natural tendency in subsistence to increase in a greater ratio than population,' he now, in the first place, denies that he has asserted any thing like a universal increase of the proportion of subsistence to population, affirming that he 'only meant, that the cases in which food has increased in a greater ratio than population, are more numerous than those in which the reverse has occurred;' and at length 'freely admits, that in all old countries, perhaps in all countries whatever, population is always pressing against food.' Mr. Senior having thus given up the whole ground in dispute, Mr. Malthus very naturally informs him, in reply, that, according to the view taken of the subject in his last letter, there is in fact no essential difference between them; after which Mr. Senior winds up the correspondence by a concluding epistle, in which he remarks, with much apparent satisfaction, that 'our controversy has terminated, as I believe few controversies ever terminated before, in mutual agreement.' He does not seem to recollect, that when one of

the parties gives up his point, and adopts the opinion of his adversary, it is difficult for any controversy to terminate in any other way.

On the whole, we cannot consider the work of Mr. Senior as particularly honorable either to himself or to the ancient and venerable literary institution, under the sanction of which it is ushered into the world. On this very interesting question he gives us a meagre and scanty disquisition, which, though announced and published as Two Lectures, would not occupy in delivery more than one hour. The greater part of it is a mere repetition of the leading doctrines of Malthus, including extensive citations from the works of his disciples; and the few observations, in which Mr. Senior proposes opinions of his own, are, as we have seen, substantially abandoned in the correspondence at the close. His book is, therefore, a republication, in an abridged and very inferior form, of a previously well known system, and makes no important addition to the stock of facts, theories, or established principles already in possession of the public.

The Three Lectures on the Rate of Wages are not much more satisfactory than the two on Population. These subjects are, as our readers are aware, intimately connected. The theory on the rate of wages, now generally received among the British economists, is a necessary deduction from the theory of Malthus on Population; and as Mr. Senior substantially acquiesces in the latter, we should naturally expect, that in this part of his work, he would have made a new statement of the former. But he has not even done as much as this; and we are really surprised, that a person of education and apparent good sense, should have supposed that he was doing even formal justice to this branch of the inquiry in the very few observations, which are here made upon it. The only passage in the Three Lectures, which treats directly of the principles that regulate the rate of wages,—the most important branch, as Mr. Senior himself declares, of political economy,—is the following at the beginning of the second Lecture.

'The question to be answered is, what are the causes which decide what in any given country, and at any given period, shall be the quantity and quality of the commodities obtained by a laboring family during the year?'

We may remark here, that the question is incorrectly stated.

The object is not to ascertain what *in any given country and at any given time*, shall be the quality and the quantity of the commodities obtained by a laboring family during the year. It is not, for example, the object to ascertain what shall be the quantity and the quality of the commodities obtained by a laboring family during the present year, on the island of Nantucket. This may depend upon the success or failure of the whaling expeditions of the preceding year, or various other circumstances of an accidental character. The real question is, what are the principles which, operating at all times and in all countries, excepting so far as their operation is disturbed by accidental causes, determine the quantity and quality of the commodities which are received in compensation for labor? So much for the question; let us now see Mr. Senior's answer.

'The principal cause appears to me to be clear. The quantity and quality of the commodities obtained by each laboring family during a year, must depend on the quantity and quality of the commodities directly or indirectly appropriated during the year to the use of the laboring population, compared with the number of laboring families (including under that term all those who depend on their own labor for subsistence), or, to speak more concisely, on the fund for the maintenance of labor, compared with the number of laborers to be maintained. This proposition is nearly self-evident.'

We cheerfully concede to Mr. Senior, that this proposition is not only nearly, but quite self-evident. There cannot be a reasonable doubt, that the amount of wages, received by each individual of the laboring class, is equal to the amount received by the whole class, divided by the number of individuals. In like manner, it is quite apparent, that the amount of wages received by the whole class, is equal to the aggregate of the quantities respectively received by all the individuals. But we would venture to ask the Oxford Professor, what light either of these arithmetical truisms throws upon the principles which regulate the rate of wages? If a person were to inquire of Mr. Senior, at what rate he was paid by his pupils for the privilege of attending his Lectures on Political Economy, and he should answer, that the amount which he received from each pupil was equal to the amount received from the whole class, divided by the number of individuals; and that, on the other hand, the amount received from the whole class was equal to the amount received from each pupil, multiplied by this num-

ber, the inquirer would unquestionably reply, that he was no wiser than he was before, and would doubtless suppose that Mr. Senior considered him impertinent, and was endeavoring to evade his question by an innocent, though not very ingenious, piece of pleasantry.

Such, if our readers will believe us, is the only passage in the Three Lectures on Wages, in which Mr. Senior treats directly of his main subject. The principle he advances, such as it is, is so very clear, that it would, we should imagine, be freely admitted by every one. It is, in fact, neither more nor less than the common axiom, that the whole is equal to all the parts, and that all the parts are equal to the whole. Mr. Senior seems, however, to suppose, that it is inconsistent with a number of opinions received as true in respectable quarters, and devotes the whole of the Second and Third Lectures to an examination and refutation of these opinions. The First Lecture is taken up with a preliminary inquiry into the difference between the rate of wages and the price of labor, in which the Professor endeavors to show, that a workman who is paid by the piece is not paid by the day, and that one who is paid by the day is not paid by the piece;—a proposition no less lucid and pregnant than the general principle.

It appears, in short, that Mr. Senior has given no account whatever, in the work before us, of the causes that regulate the rate of wages. The common opinion upon this subject,—which follows as a necessary corollary from the systems of Malthus, and in which Mr. Senior, who in substance adopts that system, might have been expected to acquiesce,—is as follows.

The price of labor, considered as a marketable commodity, is regulated like that of every other, on the principle of demand and supply. If the supply be just equal to the demand, the article commands a fair and natural price, that is, the cost of production. If it fall short of the demand, the price rises, and if it exceed the demand, the price falls. But, in consequence of the law of nature (supposed in this theory) by which population is always outstripping the means of subsistence, the market for labor is regularly overstocked, and the article sells, of course, at a minimum price, that is, at the lowest price which will enable the laborers to maintain themselves and their families in the meanest way consistent with the usages of the community, and bring up children enough to sustain the popu-

lation at the existing height. If the price of labor fall below this point, that is, if the laborers have not enough to maintain themselves at the meanest possible rate, population diminishes, the supply becomes smaller in proportion to the demand, and wages are increased. If the price of labor rise above this point, that is, if the laborers have more than enough to maintain themselves at the meanest possible rate, population increases till the supply again exceeds the demand, and brings down wages to their former rate. On this system, the laborers, that is, the mass of the people, however skilful, ingenious, industrious, prudent, and temperate, can never realize any thing more, as the reward of their labor, than the mere necessaries of life of the meanest kind, without having it in their power, by any exertion of industry, or exercise of economy, to lay up a stock for their old age, or educate more than a limited number of children.

Such is the system now generally received among the political economists of England, who adopt the theory of Malthus, and which Mr. Senior, if he be true to his principles, must be supposed to hold. But, as we have already remarked, neither this nor any other theory on the subject, appears in his work. Why he has omitted to state the only theory consistent with his principles; why, in a work professedly treating of the principles that regulate the rate of wages, he has omitted to state any theory whatever on the subject, are questions which we need not here examine. The theory, of which we have just given the outline, and which is generally received by the modern school of British economists, although a necessary conclusion from their system on population, appears to us to be entirely at variance with experience. The true principles, on the view that we take of the subject, are as follows.

The reward or wages of labor, are its products. No individual will exchange an article, which has cost him the labor of two days, for a quantity of silver, or any other commodity, which has cost another person the labor of only one. In other words, the exchangeable value of all articles is determined by the labor employed in their production. This principle is generally admitted; and this being the case, it follows, that the laborer either retains, as the reward of his labor, the article which he has produced, or exchanges it for another, which is the product of an equal amount of labor; and in either case he receives alike, as the wages of his labor, the whole of its

produce. This we conceive to be the general rule that governs the whole subject.

It is admitted by Adam Smith, that this is the case in the earlier stages of society; but he conceives, that with the division of labor, and the accumulation of property, a new state of things grows up. The laborer now works upon the land or with the capital of others, and must give out of the gross amount of his produce a large share to the landlord and the capitalist, to remunerate them for the use of their property. But this fact, though no doubt true, does not interfere at all with the general principle, that the laborer receives in all cases, as wages, the whole amount of the products of his labor. A laborer, by working with the capital, or upon the land of some other person, renders his labor a great deal more productive than it otherwise would be. If he were to retain, as wages, the whole of what he can produce under these advantages he would receive not only the whole produce of his own labor, but a great deal more. When the laborer, the capitalist, and the landlord divide between them, in fair proportions, the gross produce of the enterprise in which they are all engaged, each receives, in fact, the whole produce of his own labor; and this must always take place, because, if labor realized in the form of land or capital, afforded a less return than when employed in turning to account the land or capital of others, it would of course be transferred from one of these departments to the other. In other words, rents and profits would fall, and wages rise until the balance was restored.

As a general principle, therefore, the laborer receives in wages a fair equivalent for the whole produce of his labor. The average rate of wages in each particular trade or profession, is equal to the average produce of the labor of an individual, for the time in question, in such trade or profession. The average rate of wages in each particular community is equal to the average produce of the labor of the individuals composing such community, a fair allowance being first made for the circumstances which produce a nominal inequality in the returns of labor of different kinds. Hence it is, that the rate of wages varies in different communities at the same time, when estimated in the same article, according to the different degrees of industry that distinguish their inhabitants. If a citizen of the United States habitually do twice as much work in a day as an Englishman, and three times as much as a Hindoo, he will

of course receive, as the direct produce of his labor, or in some equivalent, for example, silver, twice as much as an Englishman, and three times as much as a Hindoo. In other words, the rate of wages in these three communities will be respectively as three, two, and one.

Mr. Senior, in his Three Lectures on the Cost of Obtaining Money, attributes the difference between the rates of wages in different countries to the difference between the degrees of skill, diligence, or accidental advantages under which labor is applied by their respective inhabitants.

'The average annual wages of labor in Hindostan,' he remarks, 'are from one pound to two pounds troy of silver a year. In England they are from nine to fifteen pounds troy. In Upper Canada and the United States of America, they are from twelve pounds troy to twenty pounds. Within the same time, the American laborer obtains twelve times, and the English laborer nine times as much as the Hindoo.'

After examining several theories, that have been proposed on this subject, he proceeds to remark, that

'The only mode by which he can account for the phenomenon, is by supposing that the diligence and skill, with which English labor is applied, enable the English laborer to produce in a year exportable commodities equal in value to those produced in a year by eight Hindoos; and that the diligence and skill with which North American labor is applied, *inferior as they are to our own*, yet by the assistance of the fertile soil, which he cultivates, enable the North American laborer to produce exportable commodities more than one fourth more valuable than those produced by the Englishman in a given time, and more than ten times more valuable than those produced by the Hindoo;—or to use a more concise expression, that labor in England is eight times as productive of exportable commodities as in Hindostan, and labor in North America is one fourth more productive of exportable commodities than in England.'

In attributing,—as Mr. Senior does in this passage,—the differences between the rates of wages in different countries, estimated in money, partly to corresponding differences in the productiveness of labor, resulting from the differences of skill or natural advantage under which it is applied, he seems to have overlooked the circumstance, that the only permanent effect of an increase in the skill or natural advantages under which labor is applied, is to render its products more abund-

ant, but not to raise their value in comparison with other articles in regard to which no such increase has taken place. In consequence of the improvements in the mode of making cotton cloth, the same amount of labor which formerly produced one yard, will now produce three or four; but we are not to suppose that the laborer receives as the wages of the labor thus employed, three or four times as much silver as he formerly did. The effect is not to raise the rate of wages, but to reduce the value of cotton cloth. In the same way, if, in consequence of the cultivation of new soils of a superior quality, the same amount of labor, which before brought into market ten bushels of grain, would now bring twenty, the result would be, not that the produce of this amount of labor would exchange for twice the quantity of silver that it did before, but that a bushel of corn would exchange for half as much. And in general, if in consequence of superior science or natural advantages, the labor of England be twice as productive as that of Hindostan, it will follow, not that England will obtain from the mining countries, in exchange for the produce of a given amount of labor, twice as much silver as Hindostan, but that the mining countries will obtain from England in exchange for a given amount of silver, twice as many articles as they did before from Hindostan, and that the products of the latter country will be driven out of the market.

The different degrees of skill and natural advantages, under which labor is applied in different countries, have, therefore, —as a general rule,—no influence in producing the differences in the money price of labor. These, as far as they are permanent, are occasioned almost wholly, if not exclusively, by corresponding differences in the activity and diligence of the laborers. If, all other circumstances, including skill and natural advantages, being equal, one laborer works a given time with twice as much activity and diligence as another, he will produce within that time, twice as many articles of equal value, and may, if he think proper, by exchanging them for silver, realize twice as much money. It is not, therefore, the superior methods of the English laborer, but his superior diligence and activity, which raise his wages above those of the Hindoo; and in like manner, it is not, as Mr. Senior supposes, the greater natural advantages under which labor is applied in this country, but,—however unwilling he may be to

acknowledge it,—the superior activity and diligence of the American laborer, which raise the rate of wages in the United States, still higher than it is in England.

Mr. Senior has pushed his theory on this subject to an extent which is really curious. He not only supposes that an improvement in the methods of applying a particular kind of labor,—as, for example, that employed in making cotton cloth,—instead of rendering cotton cloth cheaper, as is really the case, raises the money price of the labor of the weaver and the spinner, but he farther supposes that the money price of all other labor is raised in the same proportion, by the same cause. The argument is, that there cannot be two prices for labor in the same community, and that if the cotton manufacturer, by improving his machinery, increase the money price of his labor, the wages of the woollen and iron manufacturer, the cultivator, and in short, of the whole class of laborers, that is, the whole community, must rise in the same proportion. 'If,' says he, 'any improvement in the skill by which English labor is assisted, should so raise the value in the foreign market of English manufactures, as to raise the wages of manufacturers from fifteen to thirty shillings a week, the same effect would be produced, as if in a mining country, the cost of producing silver were diminished one half,—*though the labor of the agricultural laborer would not become more productive than before, yet his wages would also be doubled,*—or the former proportion, founded on the experience of the comparative disadvantages of each occupation, would not be preserved;' that is, in other words, the introduction of the power-loom, instead of lowering the money price of cotton cloth, raises the money wages of the labor of the person employed in making it; and not only this, but raises the money wages of all other laborers, particularly the agricultural class, in the same proportion. On the principles of the modern British economists, which Mr. Senior appears to have adopted, any rise in the wages of the agricultural laborer, is attended by an exactly proportional diminution in the profits of the person who employs him. But on this occasion, even this favorite principle of the Malthus and Ricardo school is made to give way. At the same time that wages are doubled, profits are also doubled. Rent is doubled. In short, on the system of Mr. Senior, every man, woman and child in the community, gets twice as much money for a given amount of labor as before, because a yard of cotton cloth can

be now made with a third or a fourth part of the labor that was formerly necessary.

Mr. Senior remarks upon this singular piece of reasoning, that 'he has in vain sought for a flaw in it,' and talks in the same connexion, with much complacency, of the *public ignorance*. We would venture to ask him, whether it be not a flaw in his argument, that he has left entirely out of view the effect of competition in reducing the price of an article, in the manufacture of which an improvement has taken place. If the first cotton manufacturer who employed the power-loom, were to persist in selling his cotton cloth to the mining countries at the old money price, and could thus afford to pay his workmen double wages, another would immediately establish a manufactory of the same kind in his neighborhood, and would sell his article at a reduced price, until the reward of this kind of labor had fallen to the level of all the rest. Mr. Senior himself remarks on the subject of the reward of labor in the mining countries, that if the wages of the miner be more than in proportion to his sacrifices, they would be reduced by the consequent competition; and then proceeds to observe, that the manufacturers are the miners of England, that is, the persons who supply her with the precious metals. This being the case, as it no doubt is, we would ask Mr. Senior, why the same rule does not hold of the British miners, that is, the manufacturers, which he applies to foreign ones; and why, if their sacrifices are diminished, competition should not reduce their wages, for the same reason that it reduces, under the same circumstances, those of the miners of Peru or Mexico.

A difference in the activity and industry of the laborers, and not in the skill or natural advantages under which labor is applied, is therefore the cause of the difference between the money prices of labor in different communities, as far as they are permanent. The value of the products of labor,—as we took occasion to remark in a former article,—is not affected by these differences. If one workman,—all other circumstances being equal,—make, in consequence of his superior activity and industry, two coats, two pairs of boots, or two yards of cloth, while another workman is making one, the reward of his labor will be double, but the articles made by both will sell at the same price. It is, therefore, an error to suppose with some of our political writers, that we can never rival the old countries in manufacturing, on account of the superior

cheapness of labor in Europe; for in the first place, it has been shown satisfactorily, that this supposed superior cheapness is either wholly unreal, or real to a very trifling extent;* and secondly, because to the extent to which it is real, it is owing either to higher taxes, or an inferiority of diligence in the laborer, in either of which cases, it can have no effect on the money price of his products.

The principle that differences in the wages of labor have no effect on the money prices of its products, is, in fact, admitted in all the theories on political economy, and especially in that of the modern British school, which is the one most in favor with the writers in this country alluded to above. The theory of the British school is, that the reward of agricultural labor regulates that of labor of all other kinds; that the landholder receives in rent out of the produce of his land a fixed quantity, equal to the difference between the amount of its produce and that of an equal extent of the worst land under cultivation; that the laborers in like manner receive in wages a fixed quantity, which is always the least that will barely support life; and that after these two fixed quantities are deducted, the farmer retains the rest as profits.

According to this curious system, it is no doubt true, that if the wages of labor rise, profits must fall, and that the price of products will not be affected by the change. But although the conclusion is correct, the supposition from which it is here deduced, viz. that profits necessarily fall as wages rise, and *vice versa*, is obviously false. It is impossible that there can be two rates of the reward of labor in the same community, and as wages rise or fall, profits and rents,—the two other principal forms under which the reward of labor is paid,—must rise and fall exactly in the same proportion. Mr. Senior himself, though a partisan of the modern school, acknowledges that such is the fact. 'Few doctrines,' he remarks, 'appear to me more evidently erroneous, than that any considerable variation in the amount of wages can be compensated by a rise or fall of profits;' and he then proceeds to give some examples of cases in which wages have risen, and the profits of employers have not fallen in the same proportion. In his observations on facts, and the conclusions he draws from them, he is undoubtedly correct, but he does not seem to remember that

* See the two letters signed *Statist* in the *Banner of the Constitution*, for March 23d and 30th of this year.

the principles which he thus rejects as at variance with facts, are necessary conclusions from the theories which he has himself adopted and professes in his Lectures. If the conclusions that necessarily follow from these theories are at war with experience, the theories themselves must be false. But in this case, as in that of his theory on population, while he rejects the conclusion out of deference to facts, he retains the premises from respect to authority.

It is no doubt true,—as we have just remarked,—that on the system of the British economists, as wages rise profits fall, but it does not seem to be equally certain,—even on their system,—that as wages fall, profits must rise. Let us suppose, for example, that a manufacturer pays his workmen at a certain rate, and carries on his business with a profit. If wages fall,—which can only happen on the system of the British economists in consequence of an increase of population,—he can afford to sell his products at a lower price and still retain the same profit that he made before. Competition will of course compel him to do this, and it will, therefore, be impossible for him to increase his profits in consequence of the fall of wages. This conclusion seems to be too plain to admit of argument; but Mr. M'Culloch, one of the oracles of the school,—for no better reason that we can imagine than to give his rule the appearance of working both ways, and thus raise a presumption in favor of its being a good one,—firmly maintains in his examination before a Committee of the House of Commons, that on his principles, a fall of wages can only occasion a corresponding rise of profits, but can never be attended with a fall in the price of articles. We extract a passage from the examination, which is copied in the appendix to Mr. Senior's book. The palpable absurdity of the doctrine, as stated by himself, contrasts singularly with his dogmatical confidence in promulgating it, and the admiring acquiescence of the Committee.

'"Have you turned your attention to the effect of fluctuations in the rate of wages on the price of commodities?—I have.

'"Do you consider that when wages rise, the price of commodities will proportionally increase?—I do not think that a real rise of wages has any effect whatever, or but a very imperceptible one, on the price of commodities.

'"Then, supposing wages to be really lower in France than in this country, do you think that that circumstance would give the French any advantage over us in the foreign market?—No, I do not; I do not think it would give them any advantage what-

ever. I think it would occasion a different distribution of the produce of industry in France from what would obtain in England, but that would be all. In France, the laborers would get a less proportion of the produce of industry, and the capitalists a larger proportion.

'"Could not the French manufacturer, if he gets his labor for less than the English manufacturer, afford to sell his goods for less?—As the value of goods is made up wholly of labor and profit, the whole, and only effect of a French manufacturer getting his labor for less than an English manufacturer, is to enable him to make more profit than the English manufacturer can make, but not to lower the price of his goods. The low rate of wages in France goes to establish a high rate of profits in all branches of industry in France.

'"What conclusion do you come to in making a comparison between wages in England and wages in France?—I come to this conclusion, that if it be true, that wages are really higher in England than in France, the only effect of that would be to lower the profits of capital in England below their level in France, but that it will have no effect whatever on the price of the commodities produced in either country.

'"When you say that wages do not affect prices, what is it that does affect prices?—An increase or diminution of the quantity of labor necessary to the production of the commodity.

'"Supposing that there was a free export of machinery, so that France could get that machinery, do you think that under those circumstances we should retain those advantages which we possess at the present moment?—Yes, we should; for the export of the machinery would not lower our wages, or increase the wages in France, so that we should preserve that advantage to the full extent that we have it at this moment.

'"Will you explain to the committee why you are of opinion that the French manufacturer would not undersell the English, seeing that his profits are larger than the English manufacturer's? —Because if he were to offer to undersell the English, he can only do it by consenting to accept a less rate of profit on his capital, than the other French capitalists are making on theirs, and I cannot suppose a man of common sense would act upon such a principle.

'"Are the committee to understand, that although a French manufacturer pays half the wages to his men in France, which our manufacturers do in England, yet that his wages being on a par, or a level, in general, with the other wages in France, will render his profits on a par with them, and consequently he would not undersell the English merchant by lowering his profits below the average rate of profits in France?—Precisely so. I believe,

in point of fact, there is no such difference; but he could not undersell the English manufacturer unless he took lower profits than all other producers in France were making. I might illustrate this by what takes place every day in England, where you never find the proprietor of rich land, in order to get rid of his produce, offering it in Mark-lane at a lower rate than that which is got by a farmer or proprietor of the very worst land in the kingdom.

'"Would it not produce a larger sale if the French manufacturer were to sell at a less price?—Supposing that to be so, the greater the sale the greater would be the loss of profit."'*

With all proper deference for Mr. M'Culloch, it is not easy to see why the owners of stock in France, living in a much cheaper country than England, might not content themselves with the same rate of profits, and why,—if wages were lower,—they could not afford to reduce the prices of their products, and thus undersell the British in foreign markets. The illustration drawn from the prices of grain in England is not applicable. Where the importation of foreign grain is prohibited,—as the quantity necessary for consumption must at all events be raised at home, and as there cannot be two prices for the same article,—the whole will, of course, command the price of the dearest. But where the supply of any product, whether natural or manufactured, is limited only by the demand, the price of the whole is determined by that of the cheapest that can be brought to market with an ordinary profit. If French manufactures, for example, of the same quality can be afforded with equal profits at lower prices than the English, they will, undoubtedly, be sold at lower prices, for if the manufacturers attempted to sell at the same prices for the purpose of making higher profits, competition would compel them to take a different course. It is, therefore, quite obvious, that on the system of the British economists, although a rise in wages would occasion a fall of profits, a fall in wages would not occasion an increase of profits. On the system we have suggested, and which attributes the varieties in the rates of wages to varieties in the diligence and activity of the laborers, it is equally plain that these varieties do not affect either profits or prices. The reward of labor being, of course, equal in all its departments, the same

* Report from a Select Committee on Export of Tools and Machinery. Session of 1825, pp. 13, 14.

circumstances which occasion a rise or fall of wages will also occasion a corresponding rise or fall in rents and profits, while the money prices of articles being regulated by the amount of labor respectively necessary to their production and not by the number of them produced within a given time, which determines the rate of wages, are, of course, unaffected by any alterations that occur in these.

We have thus briefly adverted to the leading principles of the three works before us, and have pointed out what we consider the errors of the author. Our limits will, of course, not permit us to examine all the subjects that are touched upon in the way of illustration or deduction. We shall notice only one or two of those that are most interesting in themselves and have also some bearing upon the present state of affairs in this country.

The economical effect of the non-residence of landholders upon their estates, or, as it is comprehensively styled in one word, *absenteeism*, is a question upon which there has been some difference of opinion in the mother country. Mr. M'Culloch, on his examination before a Committee of the House of Commons, declared that it is of no consequence to the inhabitants of a particular country, as, for instance, Ireland, whether the landholders spend their incomes at home or abroad. When asked whether 'the population of a country would not be benefited by the expenditure at home of a certain portion of the rent, which if the landholder were an absentee, would be expended abroad,' he replied; 'No, I do not see how it would be benefited in the least. If you have a certain value laid out against Irish commodities in the one case, you will have a certain value laid out against them in the other. The cattle raised by the landholder are either exported to England or they stay at home. If they are exported, the landlord will obtain an equivalent for them in English commodities; if they are not, he will obtain an equivalent for them in Irish commodities; so that in both cases the landlord lives on the cattle, or on the value of the cattle, and whether he lives in Ireland or in England, there is obviously just the very same amount of commodities for the people of Ireland to subsist upon.'

The reader who is at all familiar with these subjects will perceive at once, that the argument here employed by Mr. M'Culloch to prove that the residence or non-residence of

landholders is a matter of indifference, is the same with that, which is habitually employed in this country by the opponents of the protecting policy, to prove that it is of no importance whether we purchase our manufactures abroad or at home, provided we get them at the same price. The fallacy of it is so apparent, that, as stated by Mr. M'Culloch, it has been almost universally rejected in England. It is, indeed, too plain to admit of question, that if the products imported from Ireland in payment of the rent of absentee landholders reward the labor of a hundred thousand English workmen, they would,—had they been consumed at home,—have afforded employment to a hundred thousand Irishmen, who could not otherwise have obtained it, and have conferred an economical benefit equal to the profits of their labor, upon Ireland. In the same way, if the agricultural produce which we send abroad in payment for foreign manufactures goes to pay for the labor of a million foreign workmen, we should, by purchasing the same manufactures at home, support a million native workmen, who could not otherwise get employment, and obtain an economical benefit equivalent to the profits upon their labors. Our anti-tariff writers say, with Mr. M'Culloch, that, provided the cultivator get the value of his produce, it is of no consequence to him whether he gets it in home manufactures or in foreign ones. This is no doubt true, but these writers seem to forget that although it may be a matter of indifference to the cultivators where they sell their produce, provided they get a good price for it, it is not a matter of indifference to the Commonwealth whether the cultivators employ this produce in paying for the labor of their fellow-citizens or of foreigners. In the former case, they give employment and support to numbers of native workmen, who on the latter supposition could not obtain it, and thus procure to the Commonwealth a proportional accession of population, wealth, and political importance. Such a result can never be regarded as a matter of indifference by any judicious and patriotic citizen. The non-residence of the Irish proprietors compels the Irish laborers to emigrate in swarms to England, to find the employment which they cannot obtain at home. The absence of domestic manufactures in this country has, in times past, compelled our people to emigrate from the settled parts of our territory to a distant wilderness, and had it continued, would have driven them to the other side of the Rocky Mountains.

Happily, a new state of things is growing up among us, and has brought with it such manifest accessions of wealth and prosperity, that the lately clamorous voice of opposition is already nearly silenced. Is it, in fact, a matter of indifference to the Commonwealth of Massachusetts whether the town of Lowell be situated where it is or in the kingdom of Great Britain? This question involves the whole merits of the protecting policy; and the returns of the late census, as well as the present aspect of the streets and wharves of this metropolis, give the answer in terms too clear to be mistaken.

Mr. Senior rejects the doctrine of M'Culloch, as stated by himself, but admits it with a qualification. When the non-resident proprietor receives his income in agricultural produce, his absence is a disadvantage, but when he receives it in manufactures the case is otherwise. If an English landholder resides in France, and his rents are remitted to him in British manufactures, his income, says Mr. Senior, though finally spent abroad, is nevertheless first spent at home, and the only effect of his non-residence is that he gives employment to one description of workmen instead of another. It is obvious, however, that this distinction is wholly futile, and that it makes no difference whatever to the community, in what form the income of an absent proprietor is remitted to him. If it be more advantageous to him to receive it in manufactured articles than in agricultural produce or specie, it must be because there is a profitable trade carried on in such articles between the country where he resides and that in which his estates are situated. This trade employs of course a certain amount of capital, and the investment in it of an additional amount for the purpose of making remittances, would only displace an equal amount that had been invested before. The effect would be, not as Mr. Senior supposes, to employ one set of workmen instead of another, but to throw out of employment one set of workmen instead of another; and the general result,—as far as the community is affected,—would be in both cases precisely the same.

The last topic to which we shall advert is that of the effect upon the community of the different modes in which landholders and capitalists employ their incomes. It is occasionally affirmed,—and we have lately with some surprise seen the opinion maintained in one of our most respectable journals,—that it is a matter of indifference to the public whether men of

wealth lay out their income in feasting and expensive amusements, or in founding productive establishments, because, in either case, they give employment to workmen. On this subject, we are happy to say, the views of Mr. Senior are entirely just.

'If the higher orders were to return to the customs of a century ago, and cover their coats with gold lace, they might enjoy their own finery; but how would that benefit their inferiors? The theory which I am considering, replies that they would be benefited by being *employed* in making the lace. It is true that a coat, instead of costing £5, would cost £55. But what becomes *now* of the extra £50? For it cannot be said that because it is not spent on a laced coat, it does not exist. If a landlord, with £10,000 a year, spends it unproductively, he pays it away to those who furnish the embellishments of his house and grounds, and supply his table, his equipage, and his clothes. Suppose him now to abandon all unproductive expenditure, to confine himself to bare necessaries, and to earn them by his own labor, the first consequence would be, that those among whom he previously spent his £10,000 a year, would lose him as an employer; and beyond this the theory in question sees nothing. But what would he do with the £10,000 which he would still annually receive? No one supposes that he would lock it up in a box, or bury it in his garden. Whether productively or unproductively, it still must be spent. If spent by himself, as by the supposition it would be spent productively, it must increase, and every year still further increase the whole fund applicable to the use of the rest of the community. If not spent by himself, it must be lent to some other person, and by that person it must be spent productively or unproductively. He might, perhaps, buy with it property in the English funds; but what becomes of it in the hands of the person who sells to him that funded property? He might buy with it French *rentes;* but in what form would the price of those *rentes* go to Paris?—In the form, as we have seen, of manufactured commodities. *Quacunque via data,* every man must spend his income; and the less he spends on himself, the more remains for the rest of the world.'

If a man throw into the fire a handful of bank-bills, he employs to a certain extent, by consuming them in this way, the labor of the wood or coal merchant; but it is quite obvious that if he were to consume them in founding a manufactory, laying out a farm, or building a ship, he would employ immediately a much greater amount of labor than in the other case; and, by the addition which the profits resulting from these

establishments would make to his capital, would obtain the means of employing a still greater amount afterwards. A person who spends his income in giving expensive entertainments, or in purchasing articles of mere luxury, consumes in a concentrated form upon himself and his immediate friends an amount of wealth, which, if realized in a plainer shape, would afford subsistence and comfort to hundreds and thousands of his fellow-citizens. In saying this, we mean not, however, to intimate that expensive entertainments are never to be given, or that articles of mere luxury are never to be purchased. The advantages resulting to the community, under a moral and political point of view, from an expensive public dinner given to an eminent citizen, as a mark of respect for his talents and virtues, may very far outweigh the injury occasioned by the loss of the money that it costs. Pictures, statues, theatrical exhibitions, music, poetry, and eloquence, are all, economically viewed, no better than luxuries; but by refining and elevating the public taste, encouraging the social feelings, and giving a loftier and nobler cast to national character, they reward the community for the labor devoted to them, by benefits, of which the value,—like that of the Union,—is not to be calculated. While, therefore, considered merely in reference to the labor they employ, disbursements for these and similar objects may be absolutely injurious, inasmuch as they divert capital from other employments, in which it would afford occupation and support to more persons, they may yet,—within proper limits and under judicious direction,—be entitled to the encouragement of the public, as important agents in the advancement of civilization and the increase of human happiness. These are, or should be, the great objects of all our efforts. Wealth is of no value, excepting so far as it tends to promote them, and such employments of labor and capital, as serve best to effect these objects, though attended with a partial sacrifice of mere wealth, must be regarded as the most honorable to those who practise them, and the most beneficial to the community.

ART. II.—*Poetry and Romance of the Italians.*

1. *Della Letteratura Italiana, Di Camillo Ugoni.* III. Tom. 12mo. Brescia. 1820.
2. *Storia della Letteratura Italiana. Del cavaliere Giuseppe Maffei.* III. Tom. 12mo. Milano. 1825.
3. *Storia della Letteratura Italiana nel secolo* XVIII. *di Antonio Lombardi.* III. Tom. 8vo. Modena. 1827–9.

It is not our intention to go into an analysis, or even to discuss the merits of the works at the head of this article, which we have selected only as a text for such reflections on the poetry and ornamental prose writing of the Italians, as might naturally suggest themselves to an English reader. The points of view from which a native contemplates his own literature, and those from which it is seen by a foreigner, are so dissimilar, that it would be hardly possible that they should come precisely to the same results, without affectation or servility on the part of the latter. The native, indeed, is far better qualified than any foreigner can be, to estimate the productions of his own countrymen; but as each is subjected to peculiar influences, truth may be more likely to be elicited from a collision of their mutual opinions, than from those exclusively of either.

The Italian, although the first modern tongue to produce what still endure as classical models of composition, was of all the Romance dialects, the last to be applied to literary purposes. The poem of the Cid, which, with all its rawness, exhibits the frank bearing of the age in a highly poetic aspect, was written nearly a century previously to this event. The northern French, which even some Italian scholars of that day condescended to employ as the most popular vehicle of thought, had been richly cultivated, indemnifying itself in anticipation, as it were, by this extraordinary precocity, for the poetic sterility with which it has been cursed ever since. In the south, and along the shores of the Mediterranean, every remote corner was alive with the voice of song. A beautiful poetry had ripened into perfection there and nearly perished, before the first lispings of the Italian Muse were heard, not in her own land, but at the court of a foreigner, in Sicily. The poets of Lombardy wrote in the Provençal. The histories,—and almost every city had its historian, and some two or three,—were composed

in Latin, or in some half-formed discordant dialect of the country. 'The Italian of that age,' says Tiraboschi, 'more nearly resembled the Latin, than the Tuscan does now any of her sister dialects.' It seemed doubtful which of the conflicting idioms would prevail, when a mighty genius arose, who, collecting the scattered elements together, formed one of those wonderful creations which make an epoch in the history of civilization, and forever fixed the destinies of his language.

We shall not trouble our readers with a particular criticism on so popular a work as the Divine Comedy, but confine ourselves to a few such desultory observations as have been suggested on a re-perusal of it. The Inferno is more frequently quoted and eulogised than any other portion of the Commedia. It exhibits a more marked progress of the action; and while it affects us by its deepened pictures of misery, it owes no doubt something to the piquant personalities, which have to this day not entirely lost their relish. Notwithstanding this, it by no means displays the whole of its author's intellectual power; and so very various are the merits of the different portions of his epic, that one who has not read the whole may be truly said not to have read Dante. The poet has borrowed the hints for his punishments, partly from ancient mythology, partly from the metaphorical denunciations of Scripture, but principally from his own inexhaustible fancy; and he has adapted them to the specific crimes with a truly frightful ingenuity. We could wish that he had made more use of the mind as a means of torture, and thus given a finer moral coloring to the picture. One example only of this occurs to us; that of the counterfeiter Adamo, who sharpens the sting of remorse, by contrasting his present dismal abode with his ancient residence on the beautiful banks of the Arno. This defect is particularly conspicuous in his portraiture of Satan, who, far different from that Spirit, whose form had yet not lost all her original brightness, is depicted in all the bugbear deformities of a nursery tale. This decidedly bad taste must be imputed to the rudeness of the age in which Dante lived. The progress of refinement is shown in Tasso's subsequent portrait of this same personage, who 'towering like Calpe or huge Atlas,' is sustained by that unconquerable temper, which gives life to the yet more spiritualized conceptions of Milton. The faults of Dante, as we have said, were those of his age.

But in his elevated conceptions, in the wild and desolating gloom which he has thrown around the city of the dead, the world saw for the first time, the genius of modern literature fully displayed; and in his ripe and vigorous versification, it beheld also for the first time, the poetical capacities of a modern idiom.*

The Purgatory relies for its interest on no strong emotion, but on a contemplative moral tone, and on such luxuriant descriptions of nature, as bring it much nearer to the style of English poetry, than any other part of the work. It is on the Paradise, however, that Dante has lavished all the stores of his fancy. Yet he has not succeeded in his attempt to exhibit there a regular gradation of happiness, for happiness cannot, like pain, be measured by any scale of physical sensations. Neither is he always successful in the notions which he has conveyed of the occupations of the blessed. There was no source, indeed, whence he could derive this knowledge. The Scriptures present no determinate idea of such occupations; and the mythology of the ancients had so little that was consolatory in it, even to themselves, that the shade of Achilles is made to say in the Odyssey, that 'he had rather be the slave of the meanest living man, than rule as a sovereign among the dead.'

Dante wisely placed the moral sources of happiness in the exercises of the mind. The most agreeable of these to himself, though, perhaps, to few of his readers, was metaphysical polemics. He had, unfortunately, in his youth, gained a prize for successful disputation at the schools, and in every page of these gladiatorial exhibitions, we discern the disciple of Scotus and Aquinas. His *matériel* is made up of light, music, and motion. These he has arranged in every possible variety of combination. We are borne along from one magnificent *fête* to another; and as we rise in the scale of being, the motion of the celestial dance increases in velocity, the light shines with redoubled brilliancy, and the music is of a more ravishing sweetness, until all is confounded in the intolerable splendors of the Deity.

* Dante anticipated the final triumph of the Italian, with a generous confidence, not shared by the more timid scholars of his own or the succeeding age. See his eloquent apology for it in his Convito,—especially, pp. 81, 82. Tom. IV. ed. 1758. See also Purg. Can. XXIV.

Dante has failed in his attempt to personify the Deity. Who indeed has not? No such personification can be effected without the aid of illustration from physical objects; and how degrading are these to our conceptions of Omnipotence! The repeated failures of the Italians, who have attempted this in the arts of design, are still more conspicuous. Even the genius of Raphael has only furnished another proof of the impotence of his art. The advancement of taste may be again seen in Tasso's representation of the Supreme Being, by his attributes ;* and with similar discretion, Milton, like the Grecian artist, who drew a mantle over the countenance, which he could not trust himself to paint, whenever he has introduced the Deity, has veiled his glories in a cloud.

The characters and conditions of Dante and Milton, were too analogous not to have often invited the parallel. Both took an active part in the revolutions of their age. Both lived to see the extinction of their own hopes, and the ruin of their party ; and it was the fate of both to compose their immortal poems in poverty and disgrace. These circumstances, however, produced different effects on their minds. Milton, in solitude and darkness, from the cheerful ways of men cut off, was obliged to seek inwardly that celestial light, which, as he pathetically laments, was denied to him from without. Hence his poem breathes a spirit of lofty contemplation, which is never disturbed by the impurities that disfigure the page of Dante. The latter poet, an exile in a foreign land, condemned to eat the bread of dependence, from the hands of his ancient enemies, felt the iron enter more deeply into his soul, and in the spirit of his age, has too often made his verses the vehicle of his vindictive scorn. Both stood forth the sturdy champions of freedom in every form, above all, of intellectual freedom. The same spirit which animates the controversial writings of Milton, glows with yet fiercer heat in every page of the Divine Comedy. How does its author denounce the abuses, the crying abuses of the church, its hypocrisies, and manifold perversions of Scripture! How boldly does he declare his determination to proclaim the truth, that he may live in the memory of the just hereafter! His Ghibeline connexions were indeed unfavorable to these principles. But these connexions were the result of necessity, not of choice. His

* Ger. Lib. CIX. s. 56.

hardy spirit had been nursed in the last ages of the Republic; and it may be truly said of him, that he became a Ghibeline, in the hope of again becoming a Florentine. The love of his native soil, as with most exiles, was a vital principle with him. How pathetically does he recall those good old times, when the sons of Florence were sure to find a grave within her walls! Even the bitterness of his heart against her, which breaks forth in the very courts of Heaven, proves, paradoxical as it may appear, the tenacity of his affection. It might not be easy to rouse the patriotism of a modern Italian, even into this symptom of vitality.

The genius of both was of the severest kind. For this reason, any display of their sensibility, like the light breaking through a dark cloud, affects us the more by contrast. Such are the sweet pictures of domestic bliss in Paradise Lost, and the tender tale of Francesca di Rimini in the Inferno. Both are sublime in the highest signification of the term; but Milton is an ideal poet and delights in generalization, while Dante is the most literal of artists, and paints every thing in detail. He refuses no imagery, however mean, that can illustrate his subject. This is too notorious to require exemplification. He is, moreover, eminently distinguished by the power of depicting his thought by a single vigorous touch; a manner well known in Italy under the name of *Dantesque*. It would not be easy for such a verse as the following, without sacrifice of idiom, to be condensed within the same compass in our language.

'Con viso, che tacendo dicea, taci.'

It would be interesting to trace the similarity of tastes in these great minds, as exhibited in their pleasures equally with their serious pursuits; in their exquisite sensibility to music; in their early fondness for those ancient romances, which they have so often celebrated both in prose and verse. But our limits will not allow us to pursue the subject any further.

Dante's epic was greeted by his countrymen in that rude age with the general enthusiasm, with which they have ever welcomed the works of genius. A chair was instituted at Florence, for the exposition of the Divine Comedy, and Boccaccio was the first who filled it. The bust of its author was crowned with laurels; his daughter was maintained at the public expense, and the fickle Florentines vainly solicited from Ra-

venna the ashes of their poet, whom they had so bitterly persecuted when living.

Notwithstanding all this, the father of Italian verse has had a much less sensible influence on the taste of his countrymen, than either of the illustrious triumvirate of the fourteenth century. His bold, masculine diction, and his concentrated thought were ill suited to the effeminacy of his nation. One or two clumsy imitators of him appeared in his own age; and in ours a school has been formed, professing to be modelled on the severe principles of the *trecentisti*. But no one has yet arisen to bend the bow of Ulysses.

Several poets wrote in the Tuscan or Italian dialect at the close of the thirteenth century with tolerable purity; but their amorous effusions would, probably, like those in the Provençal, have rapidly passed into oblivion, had the language not been consecrated by some established work of genius like the Divina Commedia. It was fortunate that its author selected a subject, which enabled him to exhibit the peculiar genius of Christianity, and of modern institutions, and to demonstrate their immense superiority for poetical purposes over those of antiquity. It opened a cheering prospect to those who doubted the capacities of a modern idiom; and after ages of barbarism, it was welcomed as the sign, that the waters had at length passed from the face of the earth.

We have been detained long upon Dante, though somewhat contrary to our intention of discussing classes rather than individuals, from the circumstance, that he constitutes in himself, if we may so say, an entire and independent class. We shall now proceed, as concisely as possible, to touch upon some of the leading peculiarities in the lyrical poetry of the Italians, which forms with them a very important branch of letters.

Lyrical poetry is more immediately the offspring of imagination or of deep feeling, than any other kind of verse, and there can be little chance of reaching to high excellence in it among a nation, whose character is defective in these qualities. The Italians are, undoubtedly, the most prolific in this department, as the French are the least so, of any people in Europe. Nothing, indeed, can be more mechanical than a French ode. Reason, wit, pedantry, any thing but inspiration, find their way into it; and when the poet is in extremity, like the countryman in the fable, he calls upon the pagan gods of antiquity to help him out. The best ode in the lan-

guage, according to La Harpe, is that of J. B. Rousseau on the Count de Luc, in which Phœbus, or the Fates, Pluto, Ceres or Cybele, figure in every stanza. There is little of the genuine *impetus sacer* in all this. Lyrical compositions, the expression of natural sensibility, are generally most abundant in the earlier periods of a nation's literature. Such are the beautiful collections of rural minstrelsy in our own tongue, and the fine old ballads and songs in the Castilian; which last have had the advantage over ours of being imitated down to a late day, by their most polished writers. But Italy is the only country in which lyrical composition from the first, instead of assuming a plebeian garb, has received all the perfection of literary finish; and which, amidst every vicissitude of taste, has been cultivated by the most polished writers of the age.

One cause of this is to be found in the circumstances and peculiar character of the father of Italian song. The life of Petrarch furnishes the most brilliant example of the triumph of letters, in an age and country too where literary celebrity was not often the path to political consequence. Princes and pontiffs, cities and universities vied with each other in lavishing honors upon him. His tour through Italy was a sort of royal progress; the inhabitants of the cities thronging out to meet him, and providing a residence for him at the public expense.

The two most enlightened capitals in Europe contended with each other for the honor of his poetical coronation. His influence was solicited in the principal negotiations of the Italian States, and he enjoyed at the same time the confidence of the ferocious Visconti, and the accomplished Robert of Naples. His immense correspondence connected him with the principal characters, both literary and political, throughout Europe, and his personal biography may be said to constitute the history of his age.

It must be confessed, that the heart of Petrarch was not insensible to this universal homage, and that his writings occasionally betray the vanity and caprice, which indicate the spoiled child of fortune. But with this moderate alloy of humanity, his general deportment exhibits a purity of principle and a generous elevation of sentiment, far above the degenerate politics of his time. He was, indeed, the first in an age of servility, as Dante had been the last in an age of freedom. If he was intimate with some of the petty tyrants of Lombardy, he never prostituted his genius to the vindication of

their vices. His political negotiations were conducted with the most generous and extended views for the weal of all Italy. How independently did he remonstrate with Dandolo on his war with the Genoese! How did he lift his voice against the lawless banditti, who, as foreign mercenaries, ravaged the fair plains of Lombardy! How boldly, to a degree which makes it difficult to account for his personal safety, did he thunder his invectives against the western Babylon!

Even his failings were those of a generous nature. Dwelling much of his time at a distance from his native land, he considered himself rather as a citizen of Italy, than of any particular district of it. He contemplated her with the eye of an ancient Roman, and wished to see the Imperial City once more resume her supremacy among the nations. This led him for a moment to give into the brilliant illusion of liberty, which Rienzi awakened. 'Who would not,' he says, appealing to the Romans, 'rather die a freeman than live a slave?'* But when he saw that he had been deceived, he did not attempt to conceal his indignation, and in an animated expostulation with the tribune, he admonishes him that he is the minister, not the master of the republic, and that treachery to one's country is a crime which nothing can expiate.†

As he wandered amid the ruins of Rome, he contemplated with horror the violation of her venerable edifices, and he called upon the pontiffs to return to the protection of their 'widowed metropolis.' He was above all, solicitous for the recovery of the intellectual treasures of antiquity, sparing no expense or personal fatigue in this cause. Many of the mouldering manuscripts he restored or copied with his own hand; and his beautiful transcript of the epistles of Cicero is still to be seen in the Laurentian Library at Florence.

The influence of his example is visible in the generous emulation for letters kindled throughout Italy, and in the purer principles of taste, which directed the studies of the schools.‡ His extensive correspondence diffused to the re-

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* Epist. ad Nic. Laurentii.—Opera, p. 535.

† Famil. Epist. Lib. VII. ep. 7. p. 677. Basil Ed.

‡ In Florence, for example, with a population which Villani, at the middle of the fourteenth century, reckons at 90,000 souls, there were from eight to ten thousand children who received a liberal education, (Istor. Fiorent. Lib. XI. Cap. 93) at a time when the higher classes in the rest of Europe were often uninstructed in the elementary principles of knowledge.

motest corners of Europe the sacred flame, which glowed so brightly in his own bosom; and it may be truly said that he possessed an intellectual empire, such as was never before enjoyed, and, probably, never can be again, in the comparatively high state of civilization to which the world is arrived.

It is not, however, the antiquarian researches of Petrarch, nor those elaborate Latin compositions, which secured to him the laurel wreath of poetry in the capitol, that have kept his memory still green in the hearts of his countrymen, but those humbler effusions in his own language, which he did not even condescend to mention in his Letter to Posterity, and which he freely gave away as alms to ballad-singers. It was auspicious for Italian literature, that a poet like Dante should have been followed by one of so flexible a character as Petrarch. It was beauty succeeding vigor. The language to which Dante had given all its compactness and energy, was far from having reached the full harmony of numbers of which it was capable. He had, moreover, occasionally distorted it into such Latinized inversions, uncouth phrases, Hebraisms and Grecisms, as were foreign to the genius of the tongue. These blemishes, of so little account in Dante's extensive poem, would have been fatal to the lyrical pieces of Petrarch, which, like miniatures, from their minuteness, demand the highest finish of detail. The pains, which the latter poet bestowed on the correction of his verses, are almost inconceivable. Some of them would appear, from the memoranda which he has left, to have been submitted to the file for weeks, nay, months before he dismissed them. Nor was this fastidiousness of taste frivolous in one who was correcting not for himself, but for posterity, and who, in these peculiar graces of style, was creating beautiful and permanent forms of expression for his countrymen. His acquaintance with the modern dialects, especially the Spanish and the Provençal, enriched his vocabulary with many exotic beauties. His fine ear disposed him to refuse all but the most harmonious combinations of sound. He was accustomed to try the melody of his verses by the lute, and, like the fabled Theban, built up his elegant fabric by the charms of music. By these means he created a style scarcely more antiquated than that of the present day, and which can hardly be said to contain an obsolete phrase; an assertion not to be ventured respecting any author in our language, before the days of Queen Anne.

Indeed, even a foreigner can hardly open a page of Petrarch, without being struck with the precocity of a language, which, like the vegetation of an arctic summer, seems to have ripened into full maturity at once. There is nothing analogous to this in any other tongue with which we are acquainted, unless it be the Greek, which in the poems of Homer appears to have attained its last perfection; a circumstance which has led Cicero to remark in his Brutus, that 'there must doubtless have existed poets antecedent to Homer, since invention and perfection can hardly go together.'

The mass of Petrarch's Italian poetry, is, as is well known, of an amorous complexion. He was naturally of a melancholy temperament, and his unfortunate passion became with him the animating principle of being. His compositions in the Latin, as well as those in the vulgar tongue, his voluminous correspondence, his private memoranda or confessions, which from their nature seem never to have been destined for the public eye, all exhibit this passion in one shape or another. Yet there have been those who have affected to doubt even the existence of such a personage as Laura.

His Sonnets and Canzoni, chronologically arranged, exhibit pretty fairly the progress of his life and love, and as such, have been judiciously used by the Abbé de Sade. The most trivial event seems to have stirred the poetic feeling within him. We find no less than four sonnets indited to his mistress's gloves, and three to her eyes; which last, styled *par excellence*, the 'Three Sisters,' are in the greatest repute with his countrymen; a judgment on which most English critics would be at issue with them. Notwithstanding the vicious affectation of style, and the mysticism which occasionally obscure these and other pieces of Petrarch, his general tone exhibits a moral dignity unknown to the sordid appetites of the ancients; and an earnestness of passion rarely reflected from the cold glitter of the Provençal. But it is in the verses, written after the death of his mistress, that he confesses the inspiration of Christianity, in the deep moral coloring which he has given to his descriptions of nature, and in those visions of immortal happiness which he contrasts with the sad realities of the present life. He dwells rather on the melancholy pleasures of retrospection, than those of hope; unlike most of the poets of Italy, whose warm sunny skies seem to have scattered the gloom, which hangs over the poetry of the North. In this,

and some other peculiarities, Dante and Petrarch appear to have borne greater resemblance to the English, than to their own nation.

Petrarch's career, however brilliant, may serve rather as a warning than as a model. The querulous tone of some of his later writings, the shade of real sorrow, which seems to come across even his brightest moments, show the utter inefficacy of genius and of worldly glory to procure to their possessor a substantial happiness. It is melancholy to witness the aberrations of mind, into which so fine a genius was led by unfortunate passion. The apparition of Laura haunted him by night as well as by day, in society and in solitude. He sought to divert his mind by travelling, by political or literary occupation, by reason and religion, but in vain. His letters and private confessions, show, no less than his poetry, how incessantly his imagination was tortured by doubts, hopes, fears, melancholy presages, regrets, and despair. She triumphed over the decay of her personal charms, and even over the grave, for it was a being of the mind he worshipped. There is something affecting in seeing such a mind as Petrarch's feeding on this unrequited passion, and more than twenty years after his mistress's death, and when on the verge of the grave himself, depicting her in all the bright coloring of youthful fancy, and following her in anticipation to that Heaven where he hopes soon to be united to her.

Petrarch's example, even in his own day, was widely infectious. He sarcastically complains of the quantities of verses sent to him for correction, from the farthest north, from Germany and the British Isles, then the *Ultima Thule* of civilization. The pedants of the succeeding age, it is true, wasted their efforts in hopeless experiments upon the ancient languages, whose chilling influence seems to have entirely closed the hand of the native minstrel; and it was not until the time of Lorenzo de' Medici, whose correct taste led him to prefer the flexible movements of a living tongue, that the sweet tones of the Italian lyre were again awakened. The excitement, however, soon became general, affecting all ranks, from the purpled prelate down to the most vulgar artisan; and a collection of the *Beauties*, (as we should call them,) of this latter description of gentry, has been gathered into a respectable volume, which Baretti assures us, with a good-natured criticism, may be compared with the verses of Petrarch. In all these

the burden of the song is love. Those who did not feel, could at least affect the tender passion. Lorenzo de' Medici pitched upon a mistress as deliberately as Don Quixote did on his Dulcinea; and Tasso sighed away his soul, to a nymph so shadowy as sorely to have puzzled his commentators, till the time of Serassi.

It would be unavailing to attempt to characterize those who have followed in the footsteps of the Laureate, or we might dwell on the romantic sweetness of Lorenzo de' Medici, the purity of Vittoria Colonna, the elaborate polish of Bembo, the vivacity of Marini, and the eloquence, the platonic reveries and rich coloring of Tasso, whose beauties, and whose defects, so nearly resemble those of his great original in this department. But we have no leisure to go minutely into the shades of difference between the imitators of Petrarch. One may regret, that amidst their clouds of amorous incense, he can so rarely discern the religious or patriotic enthusiasm, which animates the similar compositions of the Spanish poets, and which forms the noblest basis of lyrical poetry at all times. The wrongs of Italy, the common battle-field of the banditti of Europe for nearly a century, and at the very time when her poetic vein flowed most freely, might well have roused the indignation of her children. The comparatively few specimens on this theme from Petrarch to Filicaja are justly regarded as the happiest efforts of the Italian lyre.

The seventeenth century, so unfortunate for the national literature in all other respects, was marked by a bolder deviation from the eternal track of the Petrarchists; a reform indeed, which may be traced back to Casa. Among these innovators, Chiabrera, whom Tiraboschi styles both Anacreon and Pindar, but who may be content with the former of these appellations, and Filicaja, who has found in the Christian faith sources of a sublimity that Pindar could never reach, are the most conspicuous. Their salutary example has not been lost on the modern Italian writers.

Some of the ancients have made a distinct division of lyrical poetry, under the title of *melicus*.* If, as it would seem, they mean something of a more calm and uniform tenor, than the impetuous dithyrambic flow; something in which symmetry of form, and melody of versification are chiefly considered; in

* Ausonius, Edyl. IV. 54.—Cicero, De Opt. Gen. Oratorum, I.

which, in fine, the effeminate beauties of sentiment are preferred to the more hardy conceptions of fancy, the term may be significant of the great mass of Italian lyrics. But we fear that we have insisted too far on their defects. Our criticism has been formed rather on the average, than on the highest specimens of the art. In this way the very luxuriance of the soil is a disadvantage to it. The sins of exuberance, however, are much more corrigible than those of sterility, which fall upon this department of poetry, in almost every other nation. We must remember, too, that no people has exhibited the passion of love under such a variety of beautiful aspects, and that, after all, although the amount be comparatively small, no other modern nation can probably produce so many examples of the very highest lyrical inspiration.

But it is time that we should turn to the Romantic Epics, the most important and perhaps the most prolific branch of the ornamental literature of the Italians.* They have been distributed into a great variety of classes by their own critics. We shall confine our remarks to some of their most eminent models, without regard to their classification.

Those who expect to find in these poems the same temper which animates the old English tales of chivalry, will be disappointed. A much more correct notion of their manner may be formed from Mr. Ellis's *Bernesque* (if we may be allowed a significant term) recapitulations of these latter. In short, they are the marvels of an heroic age, told with the fine incredulous air of a polite one. It is this contrast of the dignity of the matter with the familiarity of the manner of narration, that has occasioned among their countrymen so many silly disputes respecting the serious or satirical intentions of Pulci, Ariosto, Berni, and the rest.

The Italians, although they have brought tales of chivalry to higher perfection, than any other people in the world, are of all others, in their character, the most anti-chivalrous. Their early republican institutions, which brought all classes nearly to the same level, were obviously unfavorable to the spirit of chivalry. Commerce became the road to preferment. Wealth was their

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*In this division of our subject, we have exhibited much the same views as those contained in an article published in the forty-fifth number of this journal, to which we refer those of our readers who are desirous of seeing the narrative poetry of Italy treated *in extenso*.

pedigree, and their patent of nobility. The magnificent Medici were bankers and merchants; and the ancient aristocracy of Venice employed their capital in traffic, until an advanced period of the republic. Courage, so essential in the character of a knight, was of little account in the busy communities of Italy. Like Carthage of old, they trusted their defence to mercenaries, first foreign, and afterwards native, but who in every instance fought for hire, not honor, selling themselves, and often their employers, to the highest bidder; and who, cased in impenetrable mail, fought with so little personal hazard, that Machiavelli has related more than one infamous encounter, in which the only lives lost were from suffocation under their ponderous panoplies. So low had the military reputation of the Italians declined, that in the war of the Neapolitan succession in 1502, it was thought necessary for thirteen of their body to vindicate the national character from the imputation of cowardice, by solemn defiance and battle against an equal number of French knights, in presence of the hostile armies.

Hence other arts came to be studied than that of war,—the arts of diplomacy and intrigue. Hence statesmen were formed, but not soldiers. The campaign was fought in the cabinet, instead of the field. Every spring of cunning and corruption was essayed, and an insidious policy came into vogue, in which, as the philosopher, who has digested its principles into a system, informs us, 'the failure, not the atrocity of a deed, was considered disgraceful.'* The law of honor became different with the Italians, from what it was with other nations. Conspiracy was preferred to open defiance, and assassination was a legitimate method of revenge. The State of Venice condescended to employ a secret agent against the life of Francis Sforza; and the noblest escutcheons in Italy, those of Este and the Medici, were stained with the crimes of fratricide and incest.

In this general moral turpitude, the literature of Italy was rapidly advancing to its highest perfection. There was scarcely a petty State, which, in the fourteenth, fifteenth, and beginning of the sixteenth centuries, had not made brilliant advances in elegant prose, poetry, or the arts of design. Intellectual culture was widely diffused, and men of the highest rank devoted

* Machiavelli, Istor. Fior. L. VI.

themselves with eagerness to the occupation of letters;—this, too, at a time when learning in other countries was banished to colleges and cloisters; when books were not always essential in the education of a gentleman. Du Guesclin, the flower of French chivalry in the fourteenth century, could not read a word. Castiglione, in his Cortegiano, has given us so pleasing a picture of the recreations of the little court of Urbino, one of the many into which Italy was distributed at the close of the fifteenth century, as to suggest an exalted notion of its taste and cultivated habits; and Guicciardini has described with all the eloquence of regret, the flourishing condition of his country at the same period, ere the storm had descended on her beautiful valleys. In all this we see the characteristics of a highly polished state of society, but none of the hardy virtues of chivalry.

It was precisely in such a state of society, light, lively, and licentious, possessed of a high relish for the beauties of imagination, but without moral dignity, or even a just moral sense, that the Muse of romance first appeared in Italy; and it was not to be expected that she would retain there her majestic Castilian port, or the frank, cordial bearing, which endeared her to our Norman ancestors. In fact, the Italian fancy seems to have caught rather the gay, gossiping temper of the *fabliaux*. The most familiar and grotesque adventures are mixed in with the most serious; and even these last are related in a fine tone of ironical pleasantry. Magnificent inventions are recommended by agreeable illusions of style; but they not unfrequently furnish a flimsy drapery for impurity of sentiment. The high devotion and general moral aspect of our English Fairie Queene, are not characteristic, with a few eminent exceptions, of Italian tales of chivalry, in which we too often find the best interests of our nature exposed to all the license of frivolous banter. Pulci, who has furnished an apology for the infamous Pucelle* and Fortiguerra, with their school of imitators, may afford abundant examples to the curious in these matters.

The first successful models of the romantic Epic, were exhibited at the table of Lorenzo de' Medici; that remarkable

* See Voltaire's Preface to it. Chapelain's prosy poem on the same subject, La Pucelle d'Orleans, lives now only in the satire of Boileau. It was the hard fate of the Heroine of Orleans to be canonized in a dull Epic, and damned in a witty one.

man, who, as Machiavelli says of him, 'seemed to unite in his person two distinct natures,' who could pass from the severe duties of the council-chamber, to mingle in the dances of the people, and from the abstractions of his favorite philosophy to the broad merriment of a convivial table. Amid all the elegance of the Medici, however,—of Lorenzo and Leo X.,—there seems to have been a lurking appetite for vulgar pleasure; at least, if we may judge from the coarse satirical repartee, which Franco and his friend Pulci poured out upon one another, for the entertainment of their patron, and the still more bald buffoonery which enlivened the palace of his pontifical son.

The Stanze of Politian, however, exhibit no trace of this obliquity of taste. This fragment of an Epic, almost too brief for criticism, like a prelude to some beautiful air, seems to have opened the way to those delightful creations of the Muse, which so rapidly followed, and to have contained within itself all their various elements of beauty, the invention of Boiardo, the picturesque narrative of Ariosto, and Tasso's flush of color. Every stanza is music to the ear, and affords a distinct picture to the eye. Unfortunately Politian was soon seduced by the fashion of the age from the culture of his native tongue. Probably no Italian poet, of equal promise, was ever sacrificed to the Manes of antiquity. His voluminous Latin labors are now forgotten, and this fragment of an Epic affords almost the only point, from which he is still contemplated by posterity.

Pulci's Morgante is the first thorough-bred romance of chivalry, which the Italians have received as *text of the tongue*. It is fashioned much more literally than any of its successors, on Turpin's Chronicle, that gross medley of fact and fable, too barren for romance, too false for history; the dunghill, from which have shot up, nevertheless, the bright flowers of French and Italian fiction. In like manner as in this, religion, not love, is the principle of Pulci's action. The theological talk of his devils, may remind one of the prosy conference of Roland and Ferracute; and, strange to say, he is the only one of the eminent Italian poets, who has adopted from the chronicle the celebrated rout at Roncesvalles. In his concluding cantos, which those who have censured him as a purely satirical or burlesque poet, can have hardly reached, Pulci, throwing off the vulgar trammels which seem to have oppressed his genius, rises into the noblest conceptions of poetry, and describes the tragical catastrophe with all the eloquence of pathos and moral

grandeur. Had he written often thus, the Morgante would now be resorted to by native purists, not merely as the well of Tuscan undefiled, but as the genuine fount of epic inspiration.

From the rank and military profession of Boiardo, it might be expected, that his poem, the Orlando Innamorato, would display more of the lofty tone of chivalry, than is usual with his countrymen. But, with some exceptions, the portrait of Ruggiero, for example, it will be difficult to discern this. He, however, excels them all in a certain force of characterizing, and in an inexhaustible fertility of invention. His *dramatis personæ*, continued by Ariosto, might afford an excellent subject for a parallel, which we have not room to discuss. In general, he may be said to sculpture, where Ariosto paints. His heroes assume a fiercer and more indomitable aspect, and his Amazonian females a more glaring and less fastidious coquetry. But it is in the regions of pure fancy that his Muse delights to sport; where, instead of the cold conceptions of a Northern brain, which make up the machinery of Pulci, we are introduced to the delicate fairies of the East, to gardens blooming in the midst of the desert, to palaces of crystal, winged steeds, enchanted armor, and all the gay fabric of Oriental mythology. It has been the singular fate of Boiardo to have had his story continued and excelled by one poet, and his style reformed by another, until his own original work, and even his name, have passed into comparative oblivion. Berni's *rifacimento* is perhaps the most remarkable instance of the triumph of style on record. Every stanza reflects the sense of the original; yet such is the fascination of his diction, compared with the provincial barbarism of his predecessor, as to remind one of those mutations in romance, where some old and withered hag is suddenly transformed into a blooming fairy. It may be doubted, whether this could have succeeded so completely in a language, where the beauties of style are less appreciated. Dryden has made a similar attempt in the Canterbury Tales; but who does not prefer the racy, romantic sweetness of Chaucer?

The Orlando Furioso, from its superior literary execution, as well as from its union of all the peculiarities of Italian tales of chivalry, may be taken as the representative of the whole species. Some of the national critics have condemned, and some have endeavored to justify these peculiarities of the romantic epopee; its complicated narrative, and provoking

interruptions, its transitions from the gravest to the most familiar topics, its lawless extravagance of fiction, and other deviations from the statutes of antiquity; but very few have attempted to explain them on just and philosophical principles. The romantic eccentricities of the Italian poets are not to be imputed either to inattention or ignorance. Most of them were accomplished scholars, and went to their work with all the forecast of consummate artists. Boiardo was so well versed in the ancient tongues, as to have made accurate translations of Herodotus and Apuleius. Ariosto was such an elegant Latinist, that even the classic Bembo did not disdain to learn from him the mysteries of Horace. He consulted his friends over and over again on the disposition of his fable, assigning to them the most sufficient reasons for its complicated texture. In like manner, Tasso shows, in his Poetical Discourses, how deeply he had revolved the principles of his art, and his Letters prove his dexterity in the application of these principles to his own compositions. These illustrious minds understood well the difference between copying the ancients, and copying nature. They knew that to write by the rules of the former, is not to write like them; that the genius of our institutions requires new and peculiar forms of expression; that nothing is more fantastic than a modern antique; and they wisely left the attempt and the failure to such spiritless pedants as Trissino.

The difference subsisting between the ancients and moderns in the constitution of society, amply justifies the different principles on which they have proceeded in their works of imagination. Religion, love, honor:—what different ideas are conveyed by these terms in these different periods of history!* The love of country was the pervading feeling, which, in the ancient Greek or Roman, seems to have absorbed every other, and to have obliterated, as it were, the moral idiosyncracy of the individual; while with the moderns, it is the *individual* who stands forward in principal relief. His loves, his private feuds, and personal adventures, form the object almost of exclusive attention. Hence, in the classical fable, strict

*How feeble, as an operative principle, must religion have been among a people who openly avowed it to be the creation of their own poets. 'Homer and Hesiod,' says Herodotus, 'created the theogony of the Greeks, assigning to the Gods their various titles, characters and forms.' Herod. II. 63. Religion, it is well known, was a principal basis of modern chivalry.

unity of action and concentration of interest are demanded; while in the romantic, the object is best attained by variety of action and diversity of interest, and the threads of personal adventure separately conducted, and perpetually intersecting each other, make up the complicated texture of the fable. Hence it becomes so exceedingly difficult to discern who is the real hero, and what the main action, in such poems as the Innamorato and Furioso. Hence too, the episode, the accident, if we may so say, of the classical epic, becomes the essence of the romantic. On this explication, Tasso's delightful excursions, his adventures of Sophronia and Erminia, so often condemned as excrescences, may be admired as perfectly legitimate beauties.

The poems of Homer were intended as historical compositions. They were revered and quoted as such, by the most circumspect of the national writers, as Thucydides and Strabo, for example. The romantic poets, on the other hand, seem to have intended nothing beyond a mere *delassement* of the imagination. The old Norman epics, it is true, exhibit a wonderful coincidence in their delineations of manners, with the contemporary chronicles. But this is not the spirit of Italian romance, which has rarely had any higher ostensible aim than that of pure amusement.

> 'Scritta cosi come la penna getta,
> Per fuggir l'ozio, e non per cercar gloria,'

and which was right, therefore, in seeking its materials in the wildest extravagances of fiction, the *magnanime menzogne* of chivalry and the brilliant chimeras of the East.

The immortal epics of Ariosto and Tasso are too generally known, to require from us any particular analysis. Some light, however, may be reflected on these poets from a contrast of their peculiarities. The period in which Tasso wrote, was one of high religious fermentation. The Turks, who had so long over-awed Europe, had recently been discomfited in the memorable sea-fight of Lepanto, and the kindling enthusiasm of the nations seemed to threaten for a moment to revive the follies of the crusades. Tasso's character was of a kind to be peculiarly sensible to these influences. His soul was penetrated with religious fervor, to which, as Serassi has shown, more than to any cause of mysterious passion, are to be imputed his occasional mental aberrations. He was distinguished, more-

over, by his chivalrous personal valor, put to the test in more than one hazardous encounter; and, indeed, was reckoned the most expert swordsman of his time. Tasso's peculiarities of character were singularly suited to his subject. He has availed himself of this to the full, in exhibiting the resources and triumphs of Christian chivalry. The intellectual rather than the physical attributes of his supernatural agents, his solemn meditations on the fragility of earthly glory, and the noble ardor with which he leads us to aspire after an imperishable crown, give to his epic a moral grandeur, which no preceding poet had ever reached. It has been objected to him, however, that he preferred the intervention of subordinate agents to that of the Deity. But the God of the Christians cannot be introduced like those of Pagan mythology. They espoused the opposite sides of the contest; but wherever He appears, the balance is no longer suspended, and the poetical interest is consequently destroyed.

'Victrix causa Diis placuit, sed victa Catoni.'

This might be sublime with the ancients, but would be blasphemous and absurd with the moderns, and Tasso judged wisely, in availing himself of inferior and intermediate ministers.

Ariosto's various subject,

'Le donne, i cavalier', l'arme, gli amori,'

was equally well suited with Tasso's to his own various and flexible genius. It did not, indeed, admit of the same moral elevation, in which he was himself perhaps deficient. But it embraced, within its range, every variety of human passion and portraiture. Tasso was of a solitary, as Ariosto was of a social temper. He had no acquaintance with affairs, and Gravina accuses him of drawing his knowledge from books instead of men. He turned his thoughts inward and matured them by deep and serious meditation. He had none of the volatile talents of his rival, who seems to have parted with his brilliant fancies, as readily as the tree gives up its leaves in autumn. Ariosto was a man of the world; and in his philosophy, may be styled an epicurean. His satires show a familiarity with the practical concerns of life, and a deep insight into the characters of men. His conceptions, however, were of the earth, and his pure style, which may be compared with Alcina's transparent drapery, too often reveals to us the grossest impurity of thought.

The Muse of Tasso was of a heavenly nature, and nourished herself with celestial visions and ideal forms of beauty. He was a disciple of Plato, and hence the source of his general elevation of thought, and too often, of his mystical abstraction. The healthful bloom of his language imparts an inexpressible charm to the purity of his sentiments; and it is truly astonishing, that so chaste and dignified a composition should have been produced in an age and court so corrupt.

Both of these great artists elaborated their style with the utmost care, but with totally different results. This frequently gave to Tasso's verse the finish of a lyrical or rather of a musical composition; for many of his stanzas have less resemblance to the magnificent rhythm of Petrarch, than to the melodious monotony of Metastasio. This must be considered a violation of the true epic style. It is singular that Tasso himself, in one of his poetical criticisms, should have objected this very defect to his rival.* The elaboration of Ariosto, on the other hand, resulted in that exquisite negligence or rather artlessness of expression, so easy in appearance, but so difficult in reality to be imitated.

'Facil' versi che costan tanta pena.'

The Jerusalem Delivered is placed by the nice discrimination of the Italian critics, at the head of their heroic epics. In its essence, however, it is strictly romantic, though in its form it is accommodated to the general proportions of the antique. In Ariosto's complicated fable, it is difficult to discern either a leading hero or a predominant action. Sismondi applauds Ginguené, for having discovered this hero in Ruggiero. But both these writers might have found this discovery, where it was revealed more than two centuries ago, in Tasso's own Discourses.† We doubt, however, its accuracy, and cannot but think that the prominent part assigned to Orlando, from whom the poem derives its name, manifests a different intention in the author.

The stately and imposing beauties of Tasso's epic have rendered it generally the most acceptable to foreigners; while the volatile graces of Ariosto have made him most popular with his own nation. Both poets have had the rare felicity, not only of obtaining the applause of the learned, but of circulating

* Discorsi Poetici. III.

† Discorsi Poet. II.

among the humblest classes of their countrymen. Fragments of the Furioso are still recited by the *lazzaroni* of Naples, as those of the Jerusalem once were by the gondoliers of Venice; where this beautiful epic, broken up into ballads, might be heard for miles along the canals, on a tranquil summer evening. Had Boileau, who so bitterly sneers at the *clinquant* of Tasso, 'heard these musical contests,' says Voltaire, 'he would have had nothing to say.' It is worthy of remark, that these two celebrated poems, together with the Aminta, the Pastor Fido, and the Secchia Rapita, were all produced within the brief compass of a century, in the petty principality of the house of Este, which thus seemed to indemnify itself for its scanty territory, by its ample acquisitions in the intellectual world.

The mass of epical imitations in Italy, both of Ariosto and Tasso, especially the former, is perfectly overwhelming. Nor is it easy to understand the patience with which the Italians have resigned themselves to these interminable poems of seventy, eighty, or even ninety thousand verses each. Many of them, it must be admitted, are the work of men of real genius, and in a literature, less fruitful in epic excellence, would have given a wide celebrity to their authors; and the amount of others of less note, in a department so rarely attempted in other countries, shows in the nation at large a wonderful fecundity of fancy.

The Italians, desirous of combining as many *jouissances* as possible, and extremely sensible to harmony, have not, as has been the case in France and England, divested their romances of the music of verse. They have rarely adopted a national subject for their story, but have condescended to borrow those of the old Norman minstrels; and in conformity with the characteristic temperament of the nation, they have almost always preferred the mercurial temper of the Court of Charlemagne to the more sober complexion of the Round Table.*

With a few exceptions, the romantic poets, since the time of Ariosto, appear to have gained as little in elevation of sentiment as in national feeling. The nice classification of their critics seems to relate only to their varieties of comic charac-

* The French antiquary, Tressan, furnishes an exception to the general criticism of his countrymen, in admitting the superiority of this latter class of Romances over those of Charlemagne.

ter; and as we descend to a later period, the fine equivocal raillery of the older romances degenerates into a broad and undisguised burlesque. In the latter class, the Ricciardetto of Fortiguerra is a jest, rather than a satire upon tales of chivalry. The singular union, which this work exhibits, of elegance of style and homeliness of subject, may have furnished, especially in its introduction, the model of that species of poetry, which Lord Byron has familiarized us with in Don Juan, where the contrast of sentiment and satire, of vivid passion and chill misanthropy, of images of beauty and splenetic sarcasm, may remind one of the whimsical combinations in Alpine scenery, where the strawberry blooms on the verge of a snow-wreath.

The Italians claim to have given the first models of mock heroic poetry in modern times. The Secchia Rapita of Tassoni has the merit of a graceful versification, exhibiting many exquisite pictures of voluptuous repose, and some passages of an imposing grandeur. But these accord ill with the vulgar merriment, and general burlesque tone of the piece, which, on the whole, presents a strange medley of beauties and blemishes mixed up promiscuously together. Twelve cantos of hard fighting and cutting of throats are far too serious for a joke. The bloodless battle of the books in the Lutrin, or those of the pot-valiant heroes of Knickerbocker, are in much better keeping. The Italians have no poetry of a *mezzo carattere* like our Rape of the Lock;* where a fine atmosphere of irony pervades the piece, and gives life to every character in it. They appear to delight in that kind of travestie, which reduces great things into little, but which is of a much less spiritual nature than that which exalts little things into great. Parini's exquisite Giorno, if the satire had not rather too sharp an edge, might furnish an exception to both these remarks.

But it is time that we should turn to the *Novelle*, those delightful 'tales of pleasantry and love,' which form one of the most copious departments of the national literature. And here, we may remark two peculiarities; first, that similar tales in France and England fell entirely into neglect after the fifteenth century; while in Italy, they have been cultivated with the most unwearied assiduity from their earliest appear-

* Pignotti, Stor. del. Toscana, Tom. X. p. 132.

ance to the present hour :—secondly, that in both the former countries, the *fabliaux* were almost universally exhibited in a poetical dress ; while in Italy, contrary to the popular taste on all other occasions, they have been as uniformly exhibited in prose. These peculiarities are, undoubtedly, to be imputed to the influence of Boccaccio, whose transcendent genius gave a permanent popularity to this kind of composition, and finally determined the forms of elegant prose with his nation.

The appearance of the Decameron is, in some points of view, as remarkable a phenomenon as that of the Divine Comedy. It furnishes the only example on record, of the almost simultaneous developement of prose and poetry in the literature of a nation. The earliest prose of any pretended literary value in the Greek tongue, the most precocious of any of antiquity, must be placed near four centuries after the poems of Homer. To descend to modern times, the Spaniards have a little work, 'El Conde Lucanor,' nearly contemporary with the Decameron, written on somewhat of a similar plan, but far more didactic in its purport. Its style, though marked by a certain freshness and *naïveté*, the healthy beauties of an infant dialect, has nothing of a classical finish ; to which, indeed, Castilian prose, notwithstanding its fine old chronicles and romances, can make no pretension before the close of the fifteenth century. In France, a still later period must be assigned for this perfection. Dante, it is true, speaks of the peculiar suitableness of the French language in his day for prose narration, on account of its flexibility and freedom :* but Dante had few and very inadequate standards of comparison, and experience has shown how many ages of purification it was to undergo, before it could become the vehicle of elegant composition. Pascal's Provincial Letters furnish, in the opinion of the national critics, the earliest specimen of good prose. It would be more difficult to agree upon the author, or the period that arrested the fleeting forms of expression in our own language, but we certainly could not venture upon an earlier date than the conclusion of the seventeenth century.

The style of the Decameron exhibits the full maturity of an Augustan age. The finish of its periods, its long Latinized involutions, but especially its redundancy and Asiatic luxury

* De Vulg. Eloq. Lib. I. Cap. 10.

of expression, vices imputed to Cicero by his own contemporaries, as Quintilian informs us, reveal to us the model on which Boccaccio diligently formed himself. In the more elevated parts of his subject, he reaches to an eloquence not unworthy of the Roman orator himself. The introductions to his novels, chiefly descriptive, are adorned with all the music and the coloring of poetry; much too poetic, indeed, for the prose of any other tongue. It cannot be doubted that this brilliant piece of mechanism has had an immense influence on the Italians, both in seducing them into a too exclusive attention to mere beauties of style, and in leading them to solicit such beauties in graver and less appropriate subjects, than those of pure invention.

In the celebrated description of the Plague, however, Boccaccio has shown a muscular energy of diction, quite worthy of the pen of Thucydides. Yet there is no satisfactory evidence, that he had read the similar performance of the Greek historian, and the conjecture of Baldelli, to that effect, is founded only on a resemblance of some detached passages, which might well occur in treating of a similar disease.* In the delineation of its fearful moral consequences, Boccaccio has, undoubtedly, surpassed his predecessor. It is singular, that of the three celebrated narratives of this distemper, that by the Englishman, De Foe, is by far the most circumstantial in its details; and yet that he was the only one of the three historians, who was not an eye-witness to what he relates.† The plague of London happened in the year succeeding his birth.

The Italian novelists have followed so closely in the track of Boccaccio, that we may discuss their general attributes without particular reference to him, their beauties and their blemishes varying only in degree. They ransacked every quarter for their inventions,—Eastern legends, Norman *fabliaux*, domestic history, tradition, and vulgar contemporary anecdote. They even helped themselves, *plenis manibus*, to one another's fancies, particularly filching from the Decameron, which has for this reason been pleasantly compared to a pawn-broker's shop. But no exceptions seem to be taken at such plagiarism, and as

* Vita di Boccaccio. Lib. II. S. 2. Note.

† It seems, probable, however, from a passage in Boccaccio, cited by Bandelli, that he witnessed the plague in some other city of Italy, than Florence.

long as the story could be disguised in a different dress, they cared little for the credit of the invention. These fictions are oftentimes of the most grotesque and improbable character, exhibiting no great skill in the *liaison* of events, which are strung together with the rude artlessness of a primitive *trouveur;* while most promising beginnings are frequently brought up by flat and impotent conclusions. Many of the *novelle* are made up of mere personal anecdote, proverbialisms, and Florentine table-talk, the ingredients of an Encyclopedia of wit. In all this, however, we often find less wit than merriment, which shows itself in the most puerile practical jokes, played off upon idiots, unfortunate pedants, and other imbeciles, with as little taste as feeling.

The *novelle* wear the usual light and cheerful aspect of Italian literature. They seldom aim at a serious or didactic purpose. Their tragical scenes, though very tragical, are seldom affecting. We recollect in them no example of the passion of love treated with the depth and tenderness of feeling so frequent in the English dramatists and novelists. They can make little pretension, indeed, to accurate delineation of character of any sort. Even Boccaccio, who has acquired, in our opinion, a somewhat undeserved celebrity in this way, paints professions rather than individuals. The brevity of the Italian tale, which usually affords space only for the exhibition of a catastrophe, is an important obstacle to a gradual developement of character.

A remarkable trait in these *novelle* is the extreme boldness with which the reputations of the clergy are handled. Their venality, lechery, hypocrisy, and abominable impositions, are all exposed with an independence truly admirable. The head of the church himself is not spared. It is not easy to account for this authorized latitude, in a country where so jealous a *surveillance* has been maintained over the freedom of the press, in relation to other topics. Warton attempts to explain it, as far as regards the Decameron, by supposing that the ecclesiastics of that age had become tainted with the dissoluteness so prevalent after the plague of 1348; and Madame de Stael suggests that the government winked at this license, as the jesting of children, who are content to obey their masters, so they may laugh at them. But neither of these solutions will suffice; for the license of Boccaccio has been assumed more or less by nearly every succeeding novelist, and the jests of this

merry tribe have been converted into the most stinging satire on the clergy in the hands of the gravest and most powerful writers of the nation, from Dante to Monti.

It may be truly objected to the Italian novelists, that they have been as little solicitous about purity of sentiment, as they have been too much so about purity of style. The reproach of indecency lies heavily upon most of their writings, from the Decameron to the infamous tales of Casti; which, reeking with all the corruption of a brothel, have passed into several surreptitious editions during the present century. This indecency is not always a mere excrescence, but deeply ingrained in the body of the piece. It is not conveyed in innuendo, or softened under the varnish of sentiment, but is exhibited in all the nakedness of detail, which a debauched imagination can divine. Petrarch's encomiastic letter to his friend Boccaccio, written at the close of his own life, in which he affects to excuse the licentiousness of the Decameron from the youth of the author,* although he was turned of forty when he composed it, has been construed into an ample apology for their own transgressions by the subsequent school of novelists.

It is true, that some of the popes, of a more fastidious conscience, have taken exceptions at the license of the Decameron, and have placed it on the Index. But an expurgated edition, whose only alteration consisted in the substitution of lay names for those of the clergy, set all things right again; a circumstance, says Bayle, in a notice of Boccaccio, which manifests somewhat more solicitude for the credit of their own order than for the cause of good morals.

Such adventures as the seduction of a friend's wife, or the deceptions practised upon a confiding husband, are represented as excellent pieces of wit in these fictions,—in some of the best of them even,—and often when their authors would be moral, they betray, in their confused perceptions of right and wrong, the most deplorable destitution of a moral sense. Grazzini (*il Lasca*), one of the most popular of the tribe of the sixteenth century, after invoking in the most solemn manner the countenance of the Deity upon his labors, and beseeching him to inspire his mind with 'such thoughts only as may redound to his praise and glory,' enters immediately in the next page, upon one of the most barefaced specimens of

* Petrarca Op. Ed. Basil. p. 540.

'bold bawdry,' to make use of the plain language of Roger Ascham, that is to be found in the whole work. It is not easy to estimate the demoralizing influence of writings, many of which, being possessed of the beauties of literary finish, are elevated into the rank of classics, and thus find their way into the most reserved and fastidious libraries.

The literary execution of these tales is, however, by no means equal. In some it is even neglected, and in all, falls below that of their great original. Still in the larger part, the graces of style are sedulously cultivated, and in many constitute the principal merit. Some of their authors, especially the more ancient, as Sacchetti and Ser Giovanni, derive great repute from their picturesque proverbialisms (*riboboli*), the racy slang of the Florentine mob; pearls of little price with foreigners, but of great estimation with their own countrymen. On these qualities, however, as on all those of mere external form, a stranger should pronounce with great diffidence. But the intellectual and moral character of a composition, especially the last, are open to universal criticism. The principles of taste may differ in different nations; but, however often obscured by education or habit, there can be only one true standard of morality.

We may concede, then, to many of the *novelle*, the merits of a delicate work of art, gracefulness, nay, eloquence of style, agreeable facility of narrative, pleasantry that sometimes rises into wit, occasional developement of character, and an inexhaustible novelty of situation. But we cannot help regretting that, while so many of the finest wits of the nation have amused themselves with these compositions, they should not have exhibited virtue in a more noble and imposing attitude, or studied a more scientific delineation of passion, or a more direct moral aim or practical purpose. How rarely do we find, unless it be in some few of the last century, the didactic or even satirical tone of the English essayists, who seldom assume the oriental garb, so frequent in Italian tales, for any other purpose than that of conveying, the better, a prudential lesson. Goldsmith and Hawkesworth may furnish us with pertinent examples of this. How rarely do we recognise in these *novelle* the living portraiture of Chaucer, or the philosophical point, which sharpens the pleasantry of La Fontaine; both competitors in the same walk. Without any higher object than that of present amusement, these productions, like many others of their

elegant literature, seem to be thrown off in the mere gaiety of the heart.

Chaucer, in his peculiarities, represents as faithfully those of the English nation, as his rival and contemporary, Boccaccio, represents the Italian. In a searching anatomy of the human heart, he as far excels the latter, as in rhetorical beauty he is surpassed by him. The Prologue to his Canterbury Tales alone contains a gallery of portraits, such as is not to be found in the whole compass of the Decameron; his friar, for example,

> 'That somewhat lisped from his wantonnesse
> To make his English sweete upon his tonge;'

his worthy parson, 'glad to teche and glad to lerne;' his man of law, who,

> 'Though so besy a man as he ther n' as,
> Yet seemed besier than he was;'

and his inimitable wag of a host, breaking his jests, like Falstaff, indiscriminately upon every one he meets. Chaucer was a shrewd observer of the realities of life. He did not indulge in day-dreams of visionary perfection. His little fragment of Sir Thopaz, is a fine quiz upon the *incredibilia* of chivalry. In his conclusion of the story of the patient Griselde, instead of adopting the somewhat *fade* eulogiums of Boccaccio, he good-naturedly jests at the *ultra* perfection of the heroine. Like Shakspeare and Scott, his successors and superiors in the school of character, he seems to have had too vivid a perception of the vanities of human life to allow him, for a moment, to give into those extravagancies of perfection, which have sprung from the brain of so many fond enthusiasts.

Chaucer's genius was every way equal to that of Boccaccio, yet the direct influence of the one can scarcely be discerned beyond his own age, while that of the other has reached to the present generation. A principal cause of this is the difference of their style; that of the former, exhibiting only the rude graces of a primitive dialect, while Boccaccio's may be said to have reached the full prime of a cultivated period. Another cause is discernible in the new and more suitable forms which came to be adopted for that delineation of character which constitutes the essence of Chaucer's fictions, viz. those of the drama, and the extended novel, in both of which Italian literature has, until very recently, been singularly

deficient. Boccaccio made two elaborate essays in novel-writing, but his genius seems to have been ill adapted to it, and in his strange and prolix narrative, which brings upon the stage again the obsolete deities of antiquity, even the natural graces of his style desert him. The attempt has scarcely been repeated until our day, when the impulse communicated by the English, in romance and historical novel-writing, to other nations on the continent, seems to have extended itself to Italy; and the extraordinary favor which has been shown there to the first essays in this way, may perhaps lead eventually to more brilliant successes.

The Spaniards, under no better circumstances than the Italians, made, previously to the last mentioned period, a nearer approach to the genuine novel. Cervantes has furnished, amid his caricatures of chivalry, many passages of exquisite pathos and pleasantry, and a rich variety of national portraiture. The same, though in a less degree, may be affirmed of his shorter tales, *Novelas Exemplares*, which, however inferior to those of the Decameron in rhetorical elegance, certainly surpass them in their practical application. But the peculiar property of the Spaniards is their *picaresco* novel, a mere chronicle of the adventures and mischievous pranks of young pickpockets and *chevaliers d'industrie*, invented, whimsically enough, by a Castilian grandee, one of the proudest of his *caste;* and which, notwithstanding the glaring contrast it affords to the habitual gravity of the nation, has, perhaps from this very circumstance, been a great favorite with it ever since.

The French have made other advances in novel-writing. They have produced many specimens of wit and of showy sentiment. But they seldom afford any wide range of observation, or searching views of character. The conventional breeding, that universally prevails in France, has levelled all inequalities of rank, and obliterated, as it were, the moral physiognomy of the different classes, which, however salutary in other respects, is exceedingly unpropitious to the purposes of the novelist. Molière, the most popular character-monger of the French, has indeed penetrated the *superficies* of the most artificial state of society. His spirited sketches of fashionable folly, though very fine, very Parisian, are not always very natural, that is, founded on the universal principles of human nature; and when founded on these, they are sure to be carried more or less into caricature. The French have

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little of the English talent for humor. They have buffoonery, a lively wit, and a *naïveté* beyond the reach of art,—Rabelais, Voltaire, La Fontaine; every thing but humor. How spiritless and affected are the caricatures, so frequently stuck up at their shop-windows, and which may be considered as the popular expression in this way, compared with those of the English. It is impossible to conceive of a French Goldsmith or Fielding, a Hogarth or a Wilkie. They have, indeed, produced a Le Sage; but he seems to have confessed the deficiency of his own nation, by deriving his models exclusively from a foreign one.

On the other hand, the freedom of the political and social institutions both in this country and in England, which has encouraged the undisguised expansion of intellect, and of peculiarities of temper, has made them the proper theatre for the student of his species. Hence man has been here delineated with an accuracy quite unrivalled in any ancient or modern nation; and as the Greeks have surpassed every later people in statuary, from their familiarity with the visible naked forms of manly beauty, so the English may be said, from an analogous cause, to have excelled all others in moral portraiture. To this point, their most eminent artists have directed their principal attention. We have already noticed it in Chaucer. It formed the essence of the drama in Elizabeth's time, as it does that of the modern novel. Shakspeare and Scott, in their respective departments, have undoubtedly carried this art to the highest perfection of which it is capable, sacrificing to it every minor consideration of probability, incident, and gradation of plot; which they seem to have valued, only so far as they might be made subservient to the main purpose of a clearer exposition of character.

But it is time to return from the digression, into which we have been led by a desire of illustrating certain peculiarities of Italian literature, which can in no way be done so well as by comparing them with those of corresponding departments in other languages. Such a comparison abundantly shows how much deeper, and more philosophical, have been the views proposed by prose fiction in England than in Italy.

We have reserved the Drama for the last, as, until a very recent period, it has been less prolific in eminent models, than either of the great divisions of Italian letters. Yet it has been the one most assiduously cultivated from a very early

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period, and this too by the ripest scholars, and most approved wits. The career was opened by such minds as Ariosto and Machiavelli, at a time when the theatres in other parts of Europe had given birth only to the unseemly abortions of mysteries and moralities. Bouterwek has been led into a strange error, in imputing the low condition of the Italian drama to the small number of men, of even moderate abilities, who have cultivated it.* A glance at the long muster-roll of eminent persons employed upon it, from Machiavelli to Monti, will prove the contrary.† The unprecedented favor bestowed on the most successful of the dramatic writers, may serve to show, at least, the aspirations of the people. The Merope of Maffei, which may be deemed the first dawn of improvement in the tragic art, passed through sixty editions. Notwithstanding all this, the Italians, in comedy, and still more in tragedy, until the late apparition of Alfieri, remained far below several of the other nations of Europe.

A principal cause of their repeated failures has been often referred to the inherent vices of their system, which required a blind conformity with the supposed rules of Aristotle. Under the cumbrous load of antiquity, the freedom and grace of natural movement were long effectually impeded. Their first attempts were translations or literal imitations of the Latin theatre; some of these, however, though objectionable in form, contain the true spirit of comedy. Those of Ariosto and Machiavelli in particular, with even greater licentiousness of detail, and a more immoral conclusion, than belong either to Plautus or Terence, fully equal, perhaps surpass them, in their spirited and whimsical draughts of character. Ariosto is never more a satirist than in his comedies; and Machiavelli, in his Mandragola, has exposed the hypocrisies of religion, with a less glaring caricature, than Molière has shown in his Tartuffe. The spirit of these great masters did not descend to their immediate successors. Goldoni, however, the Molière of Italy, in his numerous comedies or farces, has succeeded in giving a lively graphic portraiture of local manners with infinite variety and comic power, but no great depth of interest. He has seldom risen to refined and comprehensive views of

* See the conclusion of his History of Spanish Literature.

† See Allacci's Drammaturgia, passim; and Riccoboni Theatre Ital. Tom. I. p. 187—208. Allacci's catalogue, as continued down to the middle of the 18th century, occupies nearly a thousand quarto pages.

society ; and his pieces, we may trust, are not to be received as faithfully reflecting the national character, which they would make singularly deficient both in virtue and the principle of honor. The writers who have followed in the footsteps of Goldoni, exhibit for the most part similar defects, with far inferior comic talent. Their productions, on the whole, however, may be thought to maintain an advantageous comparison with those of any other people in Europe, during the same period, although some of them, to judge from the encomiastic tone of their critics, appear to have obtained a wider celebrity with their contemporaries than will be probably conceded to them by posterity. The *comedies of art* which Goldoni superseded, and which were perhaps more indicative of the national taste, than any other dramatic performances, can hardly come within the scope of literary criticism.

The Italian writers would seem not even to have agreed upon a suitable measure for comedy ; some using the common *versi sciolti*, some the *sdruccioli*, others again the *martelliani*, and many more preferring prose.* Another impediment to their success is the great variety of dialects in Italy, as numerous as her petty States ; which prevents the recognition of any one uniform style of familiar conversation for comedy. The greater part of the pieces of Goldoni are written, more or less, in the local idiom of one of the extremities of Italy ; an inconvenience which cannot exist, and which can hardly be appreciated in a country, where one acknowledged capital has settled the medium of polite intercourse.

The progress of the nation in the tragic art, until a late period, has been yet more doubtful. Some notion may be formed of its low state in the last century from the circumstance, that when the players were in want of a serious piece, they could find none so generally acceptable as an opera of Metastasio, stripped of its musical accompaniments. The appearance of Alfieri at this late season, of a genius so austere, in the midst of the voluptuous Sybarite effeminacy of the period, is a remarkable phenomenon. It was as if the severe Doric proportions of a Pæstum temple had been suddenly raised up amid the airy forms of Palladian architecture. The

* Professor Salfi affirms prose to be the most suitable, indeed, the only proper dress, for Italian comedy. See his sensible *critique* on the Italian comic drama, prefixed to the late edition of Alberto Nota's Commedie. Parigi, 1829.

reserved and impenetrable character of this man has been perfectly laid open to us in his own auto-biography. It was made up of incongruity and paradox. To indomitable passions, he joined the most frigid exterior. With the fiercest aristocratic nature, he yet quitted his native State, that he might enjoy unmolested the sweets of liberty. He published one philippic against kings and another against the people. His theoretic love of freedom was far from being warmed by the genuine glow of patriotism. Of all his tragedies he condescended to derive two only from Italian history; and when in his prefaces, dedications, or elsewhere, he takes occasion to notice his countrymen, he does it in the bitterness of irony and insult.

When he first set about his tragedies, he could compose only in a sort of French and Piedmontese *patois*. He was unacquainted with any written dramatic literature, though he had witnessed the theatrical exhibitions of the principal capitals of Europe. He was, therefore, to form himself all fresh upon such models as he might prefer. His haughty spirit carried him back to the *trecentisti*, especially to Dante, whose stern beauties he sedulously endeavored to transfuse into his own style. He studied Tacitus, moreover, with diligence, and made three entire translations of Sallust. He was greatly afraid of falling into the *cantilena* of Metastasio, and sought to avoid this by sudden abruptions of language, by an eccentric use of the articles and pronouns, by dislocating the usual structure of verse, and by distributing the emphatic words with exclusive reference to the sense.*

This unprecedented manner brought upon Alfieri a host of critics, and he was compelled, in a subsequent edition, to soften down its most offensive asperities. He imputes to himself as many different styles of composition, as distinguish the works of Raphael, and it is pretty evident that he considers the last as near perfection as he could well hope to attain. It is, indeed, a noble style; with the occasional turbulence of a mighty rapid, it has all its fulness and magnificent flow; and it shows how utterly impossible it is, by any effort of art, to repress the natural melody of the Tuscan.

Alfieri effected a still more important revolution in the in-

* See a summary of these peculiarities in Casalbigi's Letter, prefixed to the late editions of Alfieri's tragedies.

tellectual character of the drama, arousing it from the lethargy into which it had fallen, and making it the vehicle of generous and heroic sentiment. He forced his pieces sometimes, it is true, by violent contrast, but he brought out his characters with a fulness of relief, and exhibited a dexterous combat of passion, that may not unfrequently remind us of Shakspeare. He dismissed all supernumeraries from his plays, and put into action what his predecessors had coldly narrated. He dispensed, moreover, with the curious coincidences, marvellous surprises, and all the *bei colpi di scena*, so familiar in the plays of Metastasio. He disdained even the poetical aid of imagery, relying wholly for effect on the dignity of his sentiments, and the imposing character of his agents.

Alfieri has been thought to have made a nearer approach to the Greek tragedy, than any of the moderns. He, indeed, disclaims the imitation of any foreign model, and he did not learn the Greek till late in life. But the drama of his own nation had always been servilely accommodated to the rules of the ancients, and he himself had rigorously adhered to the same code. His severe genius too, wears somewhat of the aspect of that of the Father of Grecian tragedy, with which it has been repeatedly compared. But any apparent resemblance in their compositions vanishes on a closer inspection. The assassination of Agamemnon, for example, forms the subject of a tragedy with both these writers. But on what different principles is it conducted by each! The larger proportion of the play of Æschylus is taken up with the melancholy monologues of Cassandra and the chorus, which, boding the coming disasters of the house of Atreus, or mourning over the destiny of man, are poured forth in a lofty dithyrambic eloquence, that gives to the whole the air of a lyrical rather than a dramatic composition. It was this lyrical enthusiasm, which, doubtless, led Plutarch to ascribe the inspiration of Æschylus to the influence of the grape.* The dialogue of the piece is of a most inartificial texture, and to an English audience might sometimes appear flat. The action moves heavily, and the principal, indeed, with the exception of Agamemnon, the only attempt at character, is in the part of

* Sympos. LVII. Prob. 10. In the same spirit, a critic of a more polished age has denounced Shakspeare's Hamlet, as the work of a drunken savage! See Voltaire's Dissertation sur la Tragédie, &c. addressed to Cardinal Querini.

Clytemnestra, whose gigantic stature overshadows the whole piece, and who appals the spectator by avowing the deed of assassination, with the same ferocity with which she had executed it.

Alfieri, on the other hand, refuses the subsidiary aids of poetical imagery. He expressly condemns, in his criticisms, a confounding of the lyric and the dramatic styles. He elaborated his dialogue with the nicest art, and with exclusive reference to the final catastrophe. *Scenæ non levis artifex.* His principal aim is to exhibit the collision of passions. The conflicts between passion and principle in the bosom of Clytemnestra, whom he has made a subordinate agent, furnish him with his most powerful scenes. He has portrayed the Iago-like features of Ægisthus in the darkest colors of Italian vengeance. The noble nature of Agamemnon stands more fully developed than in the Greek, and the sweet character of Electra is all his own. The assassination of the king of men in his bed, at the lonely hour of midnight, must forcibly remind the English reader of the similar scene in Macbeth. But though finely conceived, it is far inferior to the latter in those fearful poetical accompaniments, which give such an air of breathless horror to the story. In solemn mysterious imaginings, who indeed can equal Shakspeare? He is the only modern poet, who has succeeded in introducing the dim form of an apparition on the stage with any tolerable effect. Yet Voltaire accuses him of mistaking the horrible for the terrible. When Voltaire had occasion to raise a ghost upon the French stage, (a ticklish experiment,) he made him so amiable in his aspect, that Queen Semiramis politely desires leave to 'throw herself at his feet, and to embrace them.'*

It has been a matter of debate, whether Italian tragedy, as reformed by Alfieri, is an improvement on the French. Both are conducted on the same general principles. A. W. Schlegel, a competent critic whenever his own prejudices are not involved, decides in favor of the French. We must confess ourselves inclined to a different opinion. The three master spirits in French tragedy seem to have contained within themselves all the elements of dramatic creation; yet their best performances have something tame and unsatisfactory in them. We see the influence of that fine-spun web of criticism, which

* Semiramis. Acte III. S. 6.

in France has bound the wing of genius to the earth, and which no one has been hardy enough to burst asunder. Corneille, after a severe lesson, submitted to it, though with an ill grace. The flexible character of Racine moved under it with more freedom, but he was of too timid a temper to attempt to contravene established prejudices. His reply to one who censured him for making Hippolyte in love, in his Phédre, is well known: 'What would our *petits-mâitres* have said, had I omitted it?' Voltaire, although possessed of a more enterprising and revolutionary spirit, left the essential principles of the drama as he found them. His multifarious criticisms exhibit a perpetual paradox. His general principles are ever at variance with their particular application. No one lauds more highly the scientific system of his countrymen;—witness his numerous dramatic prefaces, dedications, and articles in the Encyclopedia. He even refines upon it with hypercritical acumen, as in his commentaries on Corneille. But when he feels its tyrannical pressure on himself, he is sure to wince;—see, for example, his lamentable protest in his Preface to Brutus.

Alfieri acknowledged the paramount authority of the ancients equally with the French dramatic writers. He has but thrice violated the unity of place, and very rarely that of time. But with all his deference for antiquity, the Italian poet has raised himself far above the narrow code of French criticism. He has relieved tragedy from that eternal chime of love-sick damsels, so indispensable in a French piece, that, as Voltaire informs us, out of four hundred which had appeared before his time, there were not more than twelve, which did not turn upon love. He substituted in its place a more pure and exalted sentiment. It will be difficult to find, even in Racine, such beautiful personifications of female loveliness, as his Electra, Micol, and others. He has, moreover, dispensed with the *confidantes*, those insipid shadows, that so invariably walk the round of the French stage. Instead of insulated axioms, and long rhetorical pleadings, he has introduced a brisk moving dialogue, and instead of the ceremonious breeding, the *perruque* and *chapeau bordé* of Louis XIVth's court, his personages, to borrow an allusion from a sister art, are sculptured with the bold, natural freedom which distinguishes the school of Michael Angelo.

It is true, that they are apt to show too much of the same fierce and sarcastic temper, too much of a family likeness with himself and with one another; that he sometimes mistakes

passion for poetry; that he has left this last too naked of imagery and rhetorical ornament; that he is sometimes stilted when he would be dignified; and that his affected energy is too often carried into mere muscular contortions. His system has indeed the appearance of an aspiration after some ideal standard of excellence, which he could not wholly attain. It is sufficient proof of his power, however, that he succeeded in establishing it, in direct opposition to the ancient taste of his countrymen, to their love of poetic imagery, of verbal melody, and voluptuousness of sentiment. It is the triumph of genius over the prejudices, and even the constitutional feelings of a nation.

We have dwelt thus long on Alfieri, because, like Dante, he seems himself to constitute a separate department in Italian literature. It is singular that the two poets, who present the earliest and the latest models of surpassing excellence in this literature, should bear so few of its usual characteristics. Alfieri's example has effected a decided revolution in the theatrical taste of his countrymen. It has called forth the efforts of some of their most gifted minds. Monti, perhaps the most eminent of this school, surpasses him in the graces of an easy and brilliant elocution, but falls far below him in energy of conception and character. The Stoical system of Alfieri would seem indeed better adapted to his own peculiar temperament, than to that of his nation, and the successful experiment of Manzoni in discarding the unities, and otherwise relaxing the unnatural rigidity of this system, would appear to be much better suited to the popular taste as well as talent.

Our limits, necessarily far too scanty for our subject, will not allow us to go into the Opera and the Pastoral Drama, two beautiful divisions in this department of Italian letters. It is singular that the former, notwithstanding the natural sensibility of the Italians to harmony, and the melody of their language, which almost sets itself to music as it is spoken, should have been so late in coming to its perfection under Metastasio. Nothing can be more unfair than to judge of this author, or indeed of any composer of operas, by the effect produced on us in the closet. Their pieces are intended to be exhibited, not read. The sentimental *ariettes* of the heroes, the romantic bombast of the heroines, the racks, ropes, poisoned daggers, and other fee-faw-fum of a nursery tale, so plentifully

besprinkled over them, have certainly in the closet a very *fade* and ridiculous aspect. But an opera should be considered as an appeal to the senses, by means of the illusions of music, dancing, and decorations. The poetry, wit, sentiment, intrigue, are mere accessaries, and of value only as they may serve to promote this illusion. Hence the necessity of love,—love, the vivifying principle of the opera, the only passion in perfect accordance with its voluptuous movements. Hence the propriety of exhibiting character, in exaggerated color of light and shadow, the *chiar' oscuro* of poetry; as the imagination is most forcibly affected by powerful contrast. Yet this has been often condemned in Metastasio. On the above principle, too, the seasonable disclosures, miraculous escapes, and all the other magical apparatus before alluded to, may be defended. The mind of the spectator, highly stimulated through the medium of the senses, requires a corresponding extravagance, if we may so say, in the creations of the poet. In this state, a veracious copy of nature would fall flat and powerless; to reach the heart, it must be raised into gigantic proportions, and adorned with a brighter flush of coloring than is to be found in real life. As a work of art, then, but not as a purely intellectual exhibition, we may criticise the opera, and in this view of it, the peculiarities so often condemned in the artist, may be, perhaps, sufficiently justified.

The Pastoral Drama, that attempt to shadow forth the beautiful absurdities of a golden age, claims to be invented by the Italians. It was carried to its ultimate perfection, in two of its earliest specimens, the poems of Tasso and Guarini. Both these writers have adorned their subject with the highest charms of versification and imagery. With Tasso, all this seems to proceed spontaneously from the heart; while Guarini's Pastor Fido, on the other hand, has the appearance of being elaborated with the nicest preparation. It may, in truth, be regarded as the solitary monument of his genius; and as such, he seems to have been desirous to concentrate within it every possible variety of excellence. During his whole life, he was employed in retouching and enriching it with new beauties. This great variety and finish of details somewhat impair its unity, and give it too much the appearance of a curious collection of specimens. Yet there are those, and very competent critics too, who prefer the splendid patch-work of Guarini to the sweet, unsolicited beauties of his rival. Dr. Johnson has con-

demned both the Aminta and Pastor Fido, as 'trifles easily imitated, and unworthy of imitation.' The Italians have not found them so. Out of some hundred specimens cited by Serassi, only three or four are deemed by him worthy of notice. An English critic should have shown more charity for a kind of composition that has given rise to some of the most exquisite creations of Fletcher and Milton.

We have now reviewed the most important branches of the ornamental literature of the Italians. We omit some others, less conspicuous, or not essentially differing in their characteristics from similar departments in the literatures of other European nations. An exception may perhaps be made in favor of satirical writing, which, with the Italians, assumes a peculiar form, and one quite indicative of the national genius. Satire, in one shape or another, has been a great favorite with them, from Ariosto, or indeed we may say Dante, to the present time. It is, for the most part, of a light, vivacious character, rather playful than pointed. Their critics, with their usual precision, have subdivided it into a great variety of classes, among which the *Bernesque* is the most original. This epithet, derived not, as some have supposed, from the *rifacimento*, but from the Capitoli of Berni, designates a style of writing made up of the beautiful and burlesque, of which it is nearly impossible to convey an adequate notion, either by translation or description, in a foreign language. Even so mature a scholar as Mr. Roscoe has failed to do this, when in one of his histories, he compares this manner to that of Peter Pindar, and in the other to that of Sterne. But the Italian has neither the coarse diction of the former, nor the sentiment of the latter. It is generally occupied with some frivolous topic, to which it ascribes the most extravagant properties, descanting on it through whole pages of innocent irony, and clothing the most vulgar and oftentimes obscene ideas, in the polished phrase or idiomatic graces of expression, that never fail to disarm an Italian critic. A foreigner, however, not so sensible to the seductions of style, will scarcely see in it any thing more than a puerile debauch of fancy.

Historians are fond of distributing the literature of Italy into masses, chronologically arranged in successive centuries. The successive revolutions in this literature justify the division to a degree unknown in that of any other country, and a brief illustration of it may throw some additional light on our subject.

Thus the fourteenth century, the age of the *trecentisti*, as it is called, the age of Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio, is the period of high and original invention. These three great writers, who are alone capable of attracting our attention at this distance of time, were citizens of a free State, and were early formed to the contemplation and practice of public virtue. Hence their works manifest an independence and a generous self-confidence, that we seek in vain in the productions of a later period, forced in the artificial atmosphere of a court. Their writings are marked, moreover, by a depth of reflection not to be discerned in the poets of a similar period of antiquity, the pioneers of the civilization of their times. The human mind was then in its infancy. But in the fourteenth century, it seemed to awake from the slumber of ages, with powers newly invigorated, and a memory stored with the accumulated wisdom of the past. Compare, for example, the Divine Comedy with the poems of Homer and Hesiod, and observe how much superior to those latter writers is the Italian in moral and intellectual science, as well as in those higher speculations which relate to our ultimate destiny.* The rhetorical beauties of the great works of the fourteenth century have equally contributed to their permanent popularity and influence. While the early productions of other countries, the poems of the Niebelungen, of the Cid, of the Norman *trouveurs*, and those of Chaucer even, have passed, in consequence of their colloquial barbarisms, into a certain degree of oblivion, the writings of the *trecentisti* are still revered as the models of purity and elegance, to be forever imitated, though never equalled.

The following age exhibits the reverse of all this. It was as remarkable for the general diffusion of learning, as the preceding had been for the concentration of talent. The Italian, which had been so successfully cultivated, came to be universally neglected for the ancient languages. It would seem as if the soil, exhausted by too abundant harvests, must lie fallow another century before it could be capable of production. The scholars of that day disdained any other than the Latin tongue, for the medium of their publications, or

* Hesiod, it is true, has digested a compact body of ethics, wonderfully mature for the age in which he wrote. But the best of it is disfigured with those childish superstitions, which betray the twilight of civilization. See, in particular, the concluding portion of his Works and Days.

even of their private epistolary correspondence. They thought with Waller, that

> 'Those who lasting marble seek,
> Must carve in Latin or in Greek.'

But the marble has crumbled into dust, while the natural beauties of their predecessors are still green in the memory of their countrymen. To make use of a simile, which Dr. Young applied to Ben Jonson, they 'pulled down, like Samson, the temple of antiquity on their shoulders, and buried themselves under its ruins.'

But let us not err, by despising these men as a race of unprofitable pedants. They lived on the theatre of ancient art, in an age when new discoveries were daily making of the long-lost monuments of intellectual and material beauty; and it is no wonder, that, dazzled with the contemplation of these objects, they should have been blind to the modest merits of their contemporaries. We should be grateful to men, whose indefatigable labors preserved for us the perishable remains of classic literature, and who thus opened a free and familiar converse with the great minds of antiquity; and we may justly feel some degree of reverence for the enthusiasm of an age in which the scholar was willing to exchange his learned leisure for painful and perilous pilgrimages, when the merchant was content to barter his rich freights for a few mouldering, worm-eaten folios, and when the present of a single manuscript was deemed of sufficient value to heal the dissensions of two rival States. Such was the fifteenth century in Italy; and Tiraboschi, warming as he approaches it, in his preface to the sixth volume of his history, has accordingly invested it with more than his usual blaze of panegyric.

The genius of the Italians, however, was sorely fettered by their adoption of an ancient idiom, and like Tasso's Erminia, when her delicate form was enclosed in the iron mail of the warrior, lost its elasticity and grace. But at the close of the century, the Italian Muse was destined to regain her natural freedom in the court of Lorenzo de' Medici. His own compositions, especially, are distinguished by a romantic sweetness, and his light popular pieces,—Carnascialeschi, Contadineschi,—so abundantly imitated since, have a buoyant exhilarating air, wholly unlike the pedantic tone of his age. Under these new auspices, however, the Italian received a

very different complexion from that which had been imparted to it by the hand of Dante.

The sixteenth century is the healthful, the Augustan age of Italian letters. The conflicting principles of an ancient and a modern school are, however, to be traced throughout almost the whole course of it. A curious passage from Varchi, who flourished about the middle of this century, informs us, that when he was at school, it was the custom of the instructers to interdict to their pupils the study of any vernacular writer, even Dante and Petrarch.* Hence the Latin came to be cultivated almost equally with the Italian, and both, singularly enough, attained simultaneously their full developement.

There are few phrases more inaccurately applied, than that of the Age of Leo X., to whose brief pontificate we are accustomed to refer most of the magnificent creations of genius scattered over the sixteenth century, although very few, even of those produced in his own reign, can be imputed to his influence. The nature of this influence in regard to Italian letters may even admit of question. His early taste led him to give an almost exclusive attention to the ancient classics. The great poets of that century, Ariosto, Sanazzaro, the Tassos, Rucellai, Guarini, and the rest, produced their immortal works far from Leo's court. Even Bembo, the oracle of his day, retired in disgust from his patron, and composed his principal writings in his retreat. Ariosto, his ancient friend, he coldly neglected,† while he pensioned the infamous Aretin. He surrounded his table with buffoon literati, and parasitical poets, who amused him with feats of improvisation, gluttony, and intemperance,—some of whom, after expending on them his convivial wit, he turned over to public derision,—and most of whom, debauched in morals and constitution, were abandoned, under his austere successor, to infamy and death. He collected about him such court flies as Berni and Molza, but as if the papal atmosphere were fatal to high continued effort, even Berni, like Trissino and Rucellai, could find no leisure for his more elaborate performance, till after his patron's death. He magnificently recompensed his musical retainers,—making one an archbishop, another an archdeacon. But what did he

* Ercolano, ques. VIII.

† Roscoe attempts to explain away this conduct of Leo, but the satires of the poet furnish a bitter commentary upon it, not to be misunderstood.

do for his countryman Machiavelli, the philosopher of his age?* He hunted, and hawked, and caroused; every thing was a jest, and while the nations of Europe stood aghast at the growing heresy of Luther, the merry pontiff and his ministers found strange matter of mirth in witnessing the representation of comedies that exposed the impudent mummeries of priestcraft. With such an example, and under such an influence, it is no wonder that nothing better should have been produced, than burlesque satire, licentious farces, and frivolous impromptus. Constrast all this with the elegant recreations of the little court of Urbino, as described in the Cortegiano. Or compare the whole result on Italian letters of the so much vaunted patronage of this luxurious pontiff with the splendid achievements of the petty State of Este alone, during the first half of this century, and it will appear that there are few misnomers which convey grosser misconceptions than that of the age of Leo X.

The seventeenth century (*seicento*) is one of humiliation in the literary annals of Italy; one, in which the Muse, like some dilapidated beauty, endeavored to supply the loss of natural charms by all the aids of coquetry and meretricious ornament. It is the prodigal use of 'these false brilliants,' as Boileau terms them, in some of their best writers, which has brought among foreigners an undeserved discredit on the whole body of Italian letters, and which has made the condemned age of the *seicentisti* a by-word of reproach even with their own countrymen. The principles of a corrupt taste are, however, to be discerned at an earlier period, in the writings of Tasso especially, and still more of Guarini. But it was reserved for Marini to reduce them into a system, and by his popularity and foreign residence to diffuse the infection among the other nations of Europe. To this source, therefore, most of these nations have agreed to refer the impurities, which, at one time or another, have disfigured their literatures. Thus the Spaniard Lampillas has mustered an array of seven volumes to prove the charge of original corruption on the Italians, though Marini openly affected to have formed himself upon a Spanish model.†

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* Machiavelli, after having suffered torture, on account of a suspected conspiracy against the Medici, in which his participation was never proved, was allowed to linger out his days in poverty and disgrace.

† Obras suelt. de Lope de Vega, Tom XXI. p. 17.

In like manner, La Harpe imputes to them the sins of Jodelle and the contemporary wits, though these last preceded by some years the literary existence of Marini; and the vices of the English *metaphysical* school have been expressly referred, by Dr. Johnson, to Marini and his followers.

A nearer inspection, however, might justify the opinion, that these various affectations bear too much of the physiognomy of the respective nations in which they are found, and are capable of being traced to too high a source in each, to be thus exclusively imputed to the Italians. Thus the elements of the *cultismo* of the Spaniards, that compound of flat pedantry and Oriental hyperbole, so different from the fine *concetti* of the Italian, are to be traced through some of their most eminent writers, up to the fugitive pieces of the fifteenth century, as collected in their Cancioneros; and in like manner, the elements of the metaphysical jargon of Cowley, whose intellectual combinations and far-fetched analogies show too painful a research after wit for the Italian taste, may be traced in England through Donne and Ben Jonson, to say nothing of the 'unparalleled John Lillie,' up to the veteran versifiers of the fifteenth and fourteenth centuries. Thus, also, some features of the *style precieux* of the hôtel de Rambouillet, so often lashed by Boileau, and laughed at by Molière, may be imputed to the malign influence of the constellation of pedants, celebrated in France under the title of Pleiades, in the sixteenth century.

The Greek is the only literature, which, from the first, seems to have maintained a sound and healthful state. In every other, the barbaric love of ornament, so discernible even in the best of the early writers, has been chastised only by long and assiduous criticism; but the principle of corruption still remains, and the season of perfect ripeness seems to be only that of the commencement of decay. Thus it was in Italy, in the perverted age of the *seicentisti*, an age yet warm with the productions of an Ariosto and a Tasso.

The literature of the Italians assumed in the last century a new and highly improved aspect. With less than its usual brilliancy of imagination, it displayed an intensity, and, under the circumstances in which it has been produced, we may add, intrepidity of thought, quite worthy of the great spirits of the fourteenth century, and a freedom and nature in its descriptions, altogether opposed to the heartless affectations of the

seventeenth. The prejudicial influence of their neighbors threatened at one time, indeed, to precipitate the language into a French *machéronico;* but a counter-current, equally exclusive, in favor of the *trecentisti,* contributed to check the innovation, and to carry them back to the ancient models of purity and vigor. The most eminent writers of this period seem to have formed themselves on Dante, in particular, as studiously as those of the preceding age affected the more effeminate graces of Petrarch. Among these, Monti, who, in the language of his master, may be truly said to have inherited from him 'Lo bello stile, che l'ha fatto onore,' is thought most nearly to resemble Dante in the literary execution of his verses; while Alfieri, Parini, and Foscolo approach him still nearer in the rugged virtue and independence of their sentiments. There seems to be a didactic import in much of the poetry of this age, too, and in its descriptions of external nature, a sober contemplative vein, that may remind us of writers in our own language. Indeed an English influence is clearly discernible in some of the most eminent poets of this period, who have either visited Great Britain in person, or made themselves familiar with its language.* The same influence may be perhaps recognised in the moral complexion of many of their compositions, the most elegant specimen of which is probably Parini's satire, which disguises the sarcasm of Cowper in the rich embroidered verse which belongs to the Italians.

In looking back on the various branches of literature, which we have been discussing, we are struck with the almost exclusive preference given to poetry over prose, with the great variety of beautiful forms which the former exhibits, with its finished versification, its inexhaustible inventions, and a wit that never tires. But in all this admirable mechanism, we too often feel the want of an informing soul, of a nobler, or at least some more practical object, than mere amusement. Their writers too rarely seem to feel

> 'Divinity within them, breeding wings
> Wherewith to spurn the earth.'

They have gone beyond every other people in painting the intoxication of voluptuous passion; but how rarely have they

* Among these may be mentioned Monti, Pindemonte, Cesarotti, Mazza, Alfieri, Pignotti, and Foscolo.

exhibited it in its purer and more ethereal form! How rarely have they built up their dramatic or epic fables on national or patriotic recollections! Even satire, disarmed of its moral sting, becomes in their hands a barren, though perhaps a brilliant jest,—the harmless electricity of a summer sky.

The peculiar inventions of a people best show their peculiar genius. The romantic epic has assumed with the Italians a perfectly original form; in which, stripped of the fond illusions of chivalry, it has descended through all the gradations of mirth, from well-bred raillery to broad and bald buffoonery. In the same merry vein, their various inventions in the burlesque style have been conceived. Whole cantos of these puerilities have been strung together with a patience altogether unrivalled, except by that of their indefatigable commentators.* Even the most austere intellects of the nation, a Machiavelli and a Galileo, for example, have not disdained to revel in this frivolous debauch of fancy, and may remind one of Michael Angelo, at the instance of Pietro de' Medici, employing his transcendent talents in sculpturing a perishable statue of snow!

The general scope of our vernacular literature, as contrasted with that of the Italian, will set the peculiarities of the latter in a still stronger light. In the English, the drama and the novel, which may be considered as its staples, aiming at more than a vulgar interest, have always been made the theatre of a scientific dissection of character. Instead of the romping merriment of the *novelle*, it is furnished with those periodical essays which, in the form of apologue, of serious disquisition or criticism, convey to us lessons of practical wisdom. Its pictures of external nature have been deepened by a sober contemplation, not familiar to the mercurial fancy of the Italians. Its biting satire, from Pierce Plowman's Visions to the Baviad and Mæviad of our day, instead of breaking into vapid jests, has been effectually sharpened against the follies or vices of the age; and the body of its poetry, in general, from the days of 'moralle Gower,' to those of Cowper and Wordsworth, breathes a spirit of piety and unsullied virtue. Even Spenser deemed it necessary to shroud the eccentricities of his Italian imagination in sober allegory; and Milton, while he adopted in his Comus the beautiful, and somewhat luxurious form of the

* The annotations upon Lippi's burlesque poem of the Malmantile Racquistata are inferior in bulk to those only on the Divine Comedy.

Aminta and Pastor Fido, animated it with the most devotional sentiments.

The political situation of Italy may afford a key to some of the peculiarities of her literature. Oppressed by foreign or domestic tyrants, for more than five centuries, she has been condemned, in the indignant language of her poet,

'Per servir sempre, o vincitrice o vinta.'

Her citizens, excluded from the higher walks of public action, have too often resigned themselves to corrupt and effeminate pleasure; and her writers, inhibited from the free discussion of important topics, have too frequently contented themselves with an impotent play of fancy. The histories of Machiavelli and of Guicciardini were not permitted to be published entire, until the conclusion of the last century. The writings of Alemanni, from some umbrage given to the Medici, were burnt by the hands of the common hangman. Marchetti's elegant version of Lucretius was long prohibited on the ground of its epicurean philosophy; and the learned labors of Giannone were recompensed with exile. Under such a government, it is wonderful that so many, rather than so few writers should have been found with intrepidity sufficient to raise the voice of unwelcome truth. It is not to be wondered at, that they should have produced so few models of civil or sacred eloquence, the fruit of a happier and more enlightened system; that they should have been too exclusively devoted to mere beauties of form; have been more solicitous about style, than thought; have studied rather to amuse than to instruct. Hence the superabundance of their philological treatises and mere verbal criticisms, of their tomes of commentaries, with which they have illustrated or obscured their most insignificant poets, where a verse furnishes matter for a lecture, and a *canzone* becomes the text for a volume. This is no exaggeration.* Hence, too, the frequency and ferocity of their literary quarrels; into which the Italians, excluded too often from weightier disquisition, enter with an enthusiasm, which in other nations can be roused only by the dearest in-

* Benedetto of Ravenna wrote ten lectures on the fourth sonnet of Petrarch. Pico della Mirandola devoted three whole books to the illustration of a *canzone* of his friend Benivieni; and three Arcadians published a volume in defence of the *Tre Sorelle* of Petrarch! It would be easy to multiply similar examples of critical prodigality.

terests of humanity. The comparative merit of some obscure classic, the orthography of some obsolete term, a simple sonnet, even, has been sufficient to throw the whole community into a ferment, in which the parties have not always confined themselves to a war of words.

The influence of academies on Italian literature is somewhat doubtful. They have probably contributed to nourish that epicurean sensibility to mere verbal elegance, so conspicuous in the nation. The great variety of these institutions scattered over every remote district of the country, the whimsicality of their titles, and still more of those of their members, have an air sufficiently ridiculous.* Some of them have been devoted to the investigation of science. But a license, refused to individuals, will hardly be conceded to public associations; and the persecution of some of the most eminent has proved an effectual warning to confine their speculations within the inoffensive sphere of literary criticism. Hence the exuberance of *prose* and *lezioni*, endless dissertations on barren rhetorical topics; and those vapid attempts at academic wit, which should never have transcended the bounds of the Lyceum.

It is not in such institutions that the great intellectual efforts of a nation are displayed. Indeed all that any academy can propose to itself, is to keep alive the flame, which genius has kindled; and in more than one instance, they have gone near to smother it. The French academy, as is well known, opened its career with its celebrated attack upon Corneille; and the earliest attempt of the Cruscan was upon Tasso's Jerusalem, which it compelled its author to re-model, or in other words, to reduce, by the extraction of all its essential spirit, into a flat and insipid decoction. Denina has sarcastically intimated, that the era of the foundation of this latter academy corresponds exactly with that of the commencement of the decline of good taste. More liberal critics concede, however, that this body has done much to preserve the integrity of the tongue, and that a pure spirit of criticism was kept alive within its bosom, when it had become extinct in almost every other

* Take at hazard some of the most familiar, the 'Ardent,' the 'Frozen,' the 'Wet,' the 'Dry,' the 'Stupid,' the 'Lazy.' The Cruscan takes its name from Crusca, (bran); and its members adopted the corresponding epithets of 'brown bread,' 'white bread,' 'the kneaded,' &c. Some of the Italians, as Lasca, La Bindo, for instance, are better known by their frivolous academic names, than by their own.

part of Italy.* Their philological labors have, in truth, been highly valuable; though perhaps not so completely successful as those of the French academicians. We do not allude to any capricious principle on which their vocabulary may have been constructed, an affair of their own critics; but to the fact, that, after all, they have not been able to settle the language with the same precision and uniformity with which it has been done in France; from the want of some great metropolis, like Paris, whose authority would be received as paramount all over the kingdom. No such universal deference has been paid to the Cruscan academy, and the Italian language, far from being accurately determined, is even too loose and inexact for the common purposes of business. Perhaps it is for this very reason better adapted to the ideal purposes of poetry.

The exquisite mechanism of the Italian tongue, made up of the very elements of music, and picturesque in its formation beyond that of any other living language, is, undoubtedly, a cause of the exaggerated consequence imputed to style by the writers of the nation. The author of the Dialogue on Orators points out, as one of the symptoms of depraved eloquence in Rome, that 'voluptuous artificial harmony of cadence, which is better suited to the purposes of the musician or the dancer, than of the orator.' The same vice has infected Italian prose from its earliest models, from Boccaccio and Bembo, down to the most ordinary book-wright of the present day, who hopes to disguise his poverty of thought under his melodious redundancy of diction. Hence it is that their numerous Letters, Dialogues, and their specimens of written eloquence, are too often defective both in natural force and feeling. Even in those graver productions, which derive almost their sole value from their facts, they are apt to be far more solicitous about style and ingenious turns of thought, as one of their own critics has admitted, than either utility or sound philosophy.†

A principal cause, after all, of the various peculiarities of Italian literature, of which we have been speaking, is to be traced to that fine perception of the beautiful, so inherent in every order of the nation, whether it proceed from a happier

* See, in particular, the treatise of Parini, himself a Lombard, De' principi delle Belle Lettere. Part II. Cap. 5.

† Bettinelli. Risorgim. d' Italia. Introd. p. 14.

physical organization, or from an early familiarity with those models of ideal beauty, by which they are every where surrounded. Whoever has visited Italy must have been struck with such a sensibility to elegant pleasure, and such a refinement of taste in the very lowest classes, as in other countries belong only to the more cultivated. This is to be discerned in the most trifling particulars; in their various costume, whose picturesque arrangement seems to have been studied from the models of ancient statuary; in the flowers and other tasteful ornaments, with which, on *fête* days, they decorate their chapels and public temples; in the eagerness with which the peasant and the artisan, after their daily toil, resort to the theatre, the opera, or similar intellectual amusements, instead of the bear-baitings, bull-fights, and drunken orgies, so familiar to the populace of other countries; and in the quiet rapture with which they listen for hours, in the public squares, to the strains of an *improvisatore*, or the recitations of a story-teller, without any other refreshment than a glass of water. The author of a new musical piece for San Carlos hardly feels assured of its success, till it has received the approbation of the lazzaroni; and Cellini informs us, that his patron, the Duke of Tuscany, hesitated to pronounce upon his celebrated statue of Perseus, until it had been exposed to the criticism of the populace in the great square of Florence. Even the art of improvisation, carried to such perfection by the Italians, is far less imputable to the facilities of their verse, than to the poetical genius of the people; an evidence of which, is the abundance of *improvisatori* in Latin in the sixteenth century, when that language came to be widely cultivated.

It is time, however, to conclude our remarks, which have already encroached too liberally on the patience of our readers. Notwithstanding our sincere admiration, as generally expressed, for the beautiful literature of Italy, we fear that some of our reflections may be rather unpalatable to a people, who shrink with sensitive delicacy from the rude touch of foreign criticism. The most liberal opinions of a foreigner, it is true, coming through so different a medium of prejudice and taste, must always present a somewhat distorted aspect to the eye of a native. On those finer shades of expression, which constitute, indeed, much of the value of poetry, none but a native can pronounce with accuracy. But on its intellectual and moral character, a foreign critic is better qualified to decide;

he may be more perspicacious, even, than a native, in detecting those obliquities from a correct standard of taste, to which the latter has been reconciled by prejudice and long example, or which he may have learned to reverence as beauties.

There must be so many exceptions, too, to the sweeping range of any general criticism, that it will always carry with it a certain air of injustice. Thus while we object to the Italians the diluted, redundant style of their compositions, may they not refer us to their versions of Tacitus and Persius, the most condensed writers in the most condensed language in the world, in a form equally compact with that of the originals? May they not object to us Dante and Alfieri, scarcely capable of translation into any modern tongue, in the same compass, without a violence to idiom? And may they not cite the same hardy models, in refutation of an unqualified charge of effeminacy? Where shall we find examples of purer and more exalted sentiment, than in the writings of Petrarch and Tasso? Where of a more chastised composition, than in Casa or Caro? And where more pertinent examples of a didactic aim, than in their numerous poetical treatises on husbandry, manufactures, and other useful arts, which in other countries form the topics of bulky disquisitions in prose? This is all just. But such exceptions, however imposing, in no way contravene the general truth of our positions, founded on the *prevalent* tone and characteristics of Italian literature.

Let us not, however, appear insensible to the merits of a literature, pre-eminent above all others for activity of fancy and beautiful variety of form, or to those of a country so fruitful in interesting recollections to the scholar and the artist; in which the human mind has displayed its highest energies untired through the longest series of ages; on which the light of science shed its parting ray, and where it first broke again upon the nations; whose history is the link that connects the past with the present, the ancient with the modern, and whose enterprising genius enlarged the boundaries of the old world by the discovery of a new; whose scholars opened to mankind the intellectual treasures of antiquity; whose schools first expounded those principles of law, which have become the basis of jurisprudence in most of the civilized nations of Europe; whose cities gave the earliest example of free institutions, and when the vision of liberty had passed away, maintained their empire over the mind, by those admirable pro-

ductions of art that revive the bright period of Grecian glory; and who, even now, that her palaces are made desolate, and her vineyards trodden down under the foot of the stranger, retains within her bosom all the fire of ancient genius. It would show a strange insensibility, indeed, did we not sympathize in the fortunes of a nation that has manifested, in such a variety of ways, the highest intellectual power; of which we may exclaim, in the language which a modern poet has applied to one of the most beautiful of her cities,

> O Decus, O Lux
> Ausoniæ, per quam libera turba sumus,
> Per quam Barbaries nobis non imperat, et Sol
> Exoriens nostro clarius orbe nitet!

Art. III.—*Origin and Progress of the Useful Arts.* *The Frugal Housewife.* By the Author of Hobomok. Third Edition. Boston. 1830.

It would be presumptuous in us, to point out the merits or defects of a work so entirely beyond our jurisdiction as this; at the same time, we would not have this writer suspect that we have introduced her name, merely to secure a title to our article. We have done it rather, to express our respect for an accomplished lady, to whom we have been indebted for entertainment in former times; and though her present writings do not come within the reach of our criticism, we know how to estimate the moral self-denial, which appears in the devotion of her talents to the service of the young. We can recommend her Juvenile Miscellany to parents, as an excellent work for their children; the defects in it are very trifling, and ought never to be mentioned, without giving the praise due to all, who, feeling themselves capable of higher efforts, are content to sacrifice such fame, for the better and more enduring reward of gratitude and affection.

We propose to give a slight account of several of the arts of life, which are alluded to in this work;—to trace them downwards, showing from what beginning they sprang, and what improvements they underwent in the course of successive ages. There is no regular history of such arts, excepting Beckmann's, which is nothing more than a collection of notes on various subjects without system; valuable and thorough,

but very limited in its range of subjects. Such an imperfect account as can be given, is only to be gained from incidental remarks gleaned in the works of various historians, who had no intention of giving light to future ages upon any such matters. Such an account will afford evidence, distressing to a certain class of moralists, because it tends to show that the wants of the human race are growing. Growing in extent and number they certainly are, and it seems to us, that men cannot do better than to let them grow; for these wants, in whatever form they come, are severely faithful friends; they drive men to activity both of body and mind. It was well said, that the advice to cut off our wants, when we have nothing to supply them, is like advising men to cut off their feet, when they happen to have no shoes. No tribes of the human race, with which we are acquainted, will work with body or mind, simply for the sport of the thing; and since exercise is so important to the health of the soul, we think that the moralist should bless the necessity that drives men to exertion. It is evident, that most of the luxuries, which at their first introduction, were looked upon with an evil eye, soon became nothing more than comforts; stockings, for example, were doubtless thought very effeminate, when first invented; but as invention put them within the reach of all, they became nothing more than comforts, which no man was disposed to rail against, because they could not well be dispensed with; and which, instead of tending to enervate the frame, do actually increase its power of physical endurance and exertion. It is sufficiently clear, from various experiments, that although the wild human animal *does* endure more hardships than the domesticated, the latter *can* endure far more from exposure to labor or climate, than the other, because strength is increased by a proper measure of food and keeping; even luxuries, when they are not excesses, do not produce the effect apprehended; witness the young English officers, who, though accustomed to no other parade than that of Bond-street, sustained, even better than veterans, the march and bivouac of the Peninsular campaigns.

This matter is not generally understood, and what the error is, may be explained by an illustration. After the death of Major Laing, the enterprising traveller in Africa, the colored potentate of the kingdom in which he died restored his effects to the British Admiral, on the nearest station, and among the

rest, an old hat, which had lost its crown as completely as the late king of France. When another, we believe Mr. Tyrwhit, died in a similar adventure, the Africans took an inventory of his property, with a view to restore it. They were sorely puzzled in making out this paper, and in utter despair, described a couple of tooth-brushes as 'two scrapers made of pig's hair,' and set down his spectacles as 'two looking-glasses for the nose.' Now one of the sages, who lament that our wants are increasing, would say, How fortunate these Africans, who know not the want of hats, spectacles, or tooth-brushes! But they make a pretty obvious mistake. The Africans know the *want* of these things as well as we, but they know not how to *supply* it, and we do; so that the balance certainly leans in favor of civilized life.

The common prejudice is, that we should endeavor to dispense with the thing wanted. When the thing wanted is not by any means to be had, as in the case of the child crying for the moon, it is clearly the best and almost the only way, to try to do without it; but when it is a want that can be supplied without creating other wants, by drawing off from other resources, it is best to make exertions to supply it; for example, the backwoodsman, who weeps as he endeavors to read by the pine torch,—candlewood, as it was called by our fathers,—will do well to work a little longer and harder, for the means of buying candles, if they are within his reach. Yet it is mournful to see what slender thanks are given to any one who endeavors to increase the comfort of the human race. Let any one try the experiment, and he will fare like the reformer, who endeavors to eject the pig from an Irish cabin, and finds reason to regret that he ever meddled with a character so important. Jonas Hanway first appeared with an umbrella in the streets of London, and though a popular and respectable character, he was looked upon with a feeling very similar to that with which the ancient prophet of that name was regarded; he was beset in such a manner, that the instrument of defence from the rain saved him from a more pelting shower of earthly hail, and he went his way rejoicing to escape without a broken head.

What effect our wants have in quickening the mind to action, may be seen in the advance of the arts of life compared with those of taste. When the latter have reached a certain height in any department, they stand still; any great effort retains its

pre-eminence for ages; the Parthenon in architecture, the Venus in statuary, and the Iliad in poetry, are exertions of power, which men, instead of attempting to rival, are content to gaze upon with wonder and despair. We do not say the same of painting, because portrait-painting, which restores the absent and the dead, is almost a necessary of life; and it is precisely that which keeps on with the most unwearied improvement. Meantime, the arts of life have no rest in their advancement; every year throws the skill and success of its predecessors into shade; some new and unimaginable discovery is perpetually eclipsing all that have gone before it; and by a pretty exact inverse proportion, Amos Cottle is to Homer, as the arts of life in Homer's day to those of our own.

But we have not space for these general remarks, and will, therefore, proceed to give some slight account of those arts by which our imperative wants are supplied. We place food first in order, because it is the most essential; many have contrived to live without houses, and even without clothing, without suffering much either from delicacy or climate, but we never have heard of any people who have subsisted without food. It is then, decidedly, the most momentous of the arts of life, which professes to supply this craving; and in justice to our race, we must say, that it is generally treated in practice with all the attention and solemnity which its abstract importance deserves.

One of the earliest of arts in this department, was that of making bread, as appears from the Scripture account of Abraham. It does not appear that flesh was eaten before the flood; though the division of animals into clean and unclean subsisted before that time; and the teeth and stomach must have been carnivorous from the beginning, unless, in accordance with Darwin's theory, we allow that long and faithful practice has brought them to their present form. Meat in warm climates is less desirable, than any other kind of food; the hecatombs annually sacrificed in our country, would have sustained an Oriental nation for years. Corn was at first eaten without any preparation, while it was still soft in the ear; and without any other preparation than grinding it in a mortar, when it had become hard. In the mortar, it was rather ground than pounded, so that the change was not great, from the mortar to the mill. The rude mill which was in use in the days of the patriarchs, is not yet out of date in the East.

It was composed of two stones of a circular form, of which the upper had its lower surface concave, to fit the convex upper surface of the nether mill-stone. In the upper stone was an upright piece of wood, with a cross stick at the top of it. Two women kneeled down, facing each other, and with their left hands kept the upper stone in rapid whirling motion, while with their right, they poured in corn through a hole in the upper stone. The flour fell out at the sides, and was passed through sieves of rushes. That which was not ground sufficiently fine, was put into the mill again.

This kind of mill was so easily constructed, that it was often used, even by those who were acquainted with better. A pair of old Roman mill-stones, of this description, were dug up in Yorkshire, at the beginning of the last century; their diameter was twenty inches. It must not be inferred from this, that they were unacquainted with water-mills, for these are described by Palladius and Vitruvius; and we know also, that cattle-mills were very common at Rome. The practice of employing slaves for this purpose, was more agreeable to the feelings of the masters of the world; but it gradually gave way to the superior advantages of the larger constructions. Many orders, with respect to mill-slaves, are found among the records of Rome, and they were still in use in the time of Theodosius. No distinct account of public water-mills is found, till the time of Arcadius and Honorius. Then, they were built upon the aqueducts, which conveyed water into the city. Floating-mills were invented by Belisarius, when Vitiges besieged him in Rome, in 536. By cutting off the supply of water in the aqueducts, he deprived the city not only of that element, but bread. The Roman General, accustomed to military expedients, proposed to the inhabitants to anchor vessels in the stream, and suspend wheels between them in such a manner that they might be turned by the tide. Mills were constructed in this way, and though heavy and slow in their operation, they answered the purpose till the siege was raised. One would have thought that the expedient of applying the force of the wind to this purpose, would have suggested itself in ancient times, since the use of sails in navigation was well known, but we find no account of this whatever. Some have thought that wind-mills were introduced into Europe by the Crusaders on their return from the East; but we fear that those strange expeditions cannot have the praise of

rendering this service to mankind, for it is tolerably clear, that they were known in Europe before the Crusades began. They were the occasion of a dispute in the end of the fourteenth century, which illustrates curiously enough the manners of the times. The Augustin monks at Windsheim wished to construct a wind-mill not far from Zwolt; but their measures for that purpose were arrested by the Lord of Woedst, who declared that the district was in every respect under his control, and positively forbade their proceeding. The monks in their distress bethought themselves of the spiritual pretensions of the Bishop of Utrecht, and laid their case before him. Extremely incensed by this laical encroachment, he held forth a statement, in which he maintained that the right to all the wind in the diocess was vested in his own person, and directed the monks to put up their mill in whatever place they thought good.

The means of preparing bread, by an easy and not unnatural association, remind us of butter. We find this article mentioned in Scripture, but we presume that no one thinks it bore much resemblance to what now passes by the name. It is thought by the best sacred critics to have been milk cream, or some thick cream. It was evidently used for the purpose of bathing the feet, and is spoken of as a luxurious indulgence. The oldest account of the preparation of butter, whatever the substance was, is found in Herodotus; but he does not describe, and, probably, did not know it minutely; all he tells us is, that it was separated by shaking the milk till the richest part of it subsided. Strabo mentions that it was used by the Ethiopians; but he does not say what it was, nor for what purpose it was used. We learn from Plutarch, that a Spartan lady paid a visit to Berenice, the wife of Dijotarus, and one being perfumed with ointment and the other with butter, they openly expressed their disgust to each other. This prepares us for the statement of Hippocrates, that butter was efficient as a medicine, probably, of the emetic kind. But we need not be particular in this criticism, for it is sufficiently clear, that neither Greeks nor Romans used it in cookery; they valued it as an ointment and medicine, not as food.

As we have said, flesh does not seem to have been so essential an article of food in the earliest times known to history, as in ours. It was not often served up, unless there was a stranger present. For this reason, the various prohibitions of Moses were less severe to the Jews of ancient than of modern

times. He forbade their eating a kid boiled in its mother's milk, because such was the practice of those idolaters, from whose example he wished to preserve them. It would also appear that some kinds of flesh were thought to produce, or favor leprous disorders.

When an animal was to be slain, the business of preparing it fell to the lot of the master of the house, even if he were a prince or king; to this beginning, may possibly be traced the prejudice, which regards butchery on a magnificent scale as the chief glory of great men, and it is much to be regretted, that their operations had not always been confined to the domestic limits, within which they were useful and happy. The King Alcinous would, probably, have hesitated as little to kill and cook an animal, as the Princess Nausicaa to wash the clothes of the royal household. As for the kinds of meat that were eaten, the bill of fare was as extensive as in modern times; in the East somewhat more so, locusts being a common article of food; they are still used, though less valued as a luxury. A traveller in the last century remarked to certain Arabs, that he wondered at their eating insects so disgusting; to which they replied, with some show of reason, that it savored of affectation in a person who could swallow an oyster, to be startled by any thing in the way of eating.

Among the Greeks various kinds of bread were eaten, and the profession of the baker was held in high esteem, insomuch that one of the craft was thought worthy of the notice of Plato. A specimen of these choice preparations will be enough for our readers,—rather more than they would wish to eat. One favorite kind was flavored with poppy-seed; another was made of flour and honey together with oil; another was made of flour and water boiled, with a seasoning of pepper, cinnamon, saffron and cheese.

The fishes were as closely connected with a taste for loaves as in the patriotism of modern politicians. This seems strange to us in New England, whose forefathers sentenced themselves to a dinner of fish once a week by way of a necessary bounty to encourage the trade. The passion of the Athenians for fish was carried to an extreme, which might seem excessive to those, who do not know the gratitude of republics to all who render them similar services. Two young Athenians were knighted on account of the excellent salt-fish sold by their father. Fish was the food of the Greeks on their

military and naval expeditions; and epicures made a point of boiling them in salt water, a point on which we believe their sentence has not been affirmed by their modern successors. We are sorry to say that the fish-mongers were not exempt from the ordinary fate of human nature. Like all other bodies of men in republics, when they were weak, nothing could exceed their humility; but when they felt that they had the comfort of the citizens completely in their power, being able at any time to abridge the perpetual Lent in which the republic delighted, the men of nets became a very aristocratic class. A Greek writer expressed his indignation at their assumption, with eloquence which bordered on the profane, saying, that when he saw Generals looking big, he did not so much wonder, though he thought they might have had more sense; but when he saw those execrable fish-mongers strutting through the streets with their eyebrows as high as the top of their heads, not deigning to look at any common mortal, he felt as if he could die sooner than see so detestable a sight.

The meats used by the Greeks did not materially differ from those approved by the Romans. Some of the luxuries of the latter are less esteemed at the present day, such as puppies, and the large white worm found in rotten wood, which is now extensively used, we believe, only in New Holland. The snail was another of their dishes, which has now lost favor, except in Germany, notwithstanding an attempt to revive it, made by two men of science in Edinburgh half a century ago. The supper of Pliny consisted of a barley-cake, lettuce, two eggs, three snails, with a due proportion of wine. The Romans were in the habit of stitching up the eyes of poultry and cramming them with food in the dark, a practice which has prevailed in later times, but is now known to render the flesh unwholesome. When they killed swine, they often did it by passing a red-hot spit through the body; at first sight this would seem severe; but the pig could not reasonably complain, seeing that a treatment little, if any better, was extended by the Romans to conquered nations, who were content to call it glorious. Such ungentle practices, however, were not peculiar to ancient times, and we must not consider them as evidences of unkind feeling, since we find Isaac Walton directing the angler to use the living bait like a friend, and to put it upon his hook with the tenderest care. A household receipt, published in 1660, throws light upon this subject. It is as

follows: 'Take a goose, or duck, or some such lively creature, pull off all her feathers, only her head and neck must be spared; make a fire round about her so that the smoke may not choke nor the fire burn her too soon; when she roasteth and consumeth inwardly, wet her head with a wet sponge, and when you see her giddy with running and begin to stumble, she is roasted enough. Then take her up,—set her before guests,—and she will cry as you cut any part off from her, and will be almost eaten up before she be dead; it is mighty pleasant to behold.' An agreeable entertainment truly, in every sense of the word!

Many of the ancient dishes, which are now disused, have kept their reputation far down into modern times. In the time of William the Conqueror, the peacock was an important dish both for ornament and good cheer. The feathers were removed till the bird was cooked, when they were carefully restored,—the beak and comb were gilded,—the tail spread, and in this state it was brought to be admired and eaten at the table. Various fantastic contrivances of this kind were resorted to in order to give variety and spice to entertainments, which were the most important concerns of the great in the intervals of hunting and war. Every child knows the fact, on authority which no one of their number ever questioned, that pies containing living birds were served up at the tables of the great; but though the words of the song expressly state that the birds were baked in a pie, we are happy to say that there is reason for believing that the pie was baked first and the birds enclosed afterwards: in fact, on any other supposition, their song would have ended before the feast began.

The common impression is, that this art of life was highly improved in England, from the earliest times, but the taste was probably not equal to the passion. The roast beef of old England, so well known to song, existed only in poetical visions. The Percy family in England have in their possession a book, containing the household system of an Earl of Northumberland, in the reign of Henry VII., in which every thing is set down with a precision, which would amaze a veteran housekeeper of our day. This has always been one of the wealthiest and most liberal establishments in England. The regular household consisted of one hundred and sixty-six persons, including the Earl's family, knights and gentlemen, and domestics with their families; in addition to these, preparation

was made for fifty guests every day. From this book, it appears, that from Midsummer to Michaelmas,—September 29th,—they had fresh meat,—so called,—but lived on salted provisions all the rest of the year. And this fare was so much the worse, because they had no vegetables worth naming. Potatoes were not introduced till a century after; and in the succeeding reign, when the Queen wanted a salad, she was obliged to send a man for it to Flanders. The book directs, that 'My Lord has on his table for breakfast at seven in the morning a quart of beer and wine, two pieces of salt fish, six red herrings, four white ones, and on flesh days, half a chine of beef or mutton boiled.' The defects of this meal could not have been supplied by bread, because England was not at that time an agricultural country. Dr. Johnson tells us, that whoever does not mind that part of the frame most interested in these disclosures, will not mind any thing else; presuming, therefore, that our readers are not wholly indifferent to such concerns, we appeal to them as hungry and hearty men to say, whether it is not quite as well, that the lamented old times should return only in song; were the wish granted, and the times restored, the strain would subside into a dying fall.

The manner of eating has varied rather more than the material. In the Old Testament times, they seem to have been seated, like Homer's heroes, each at a little table of his own; but in later times, the Persian custom of reclining was very generally adopted. Three couches were wheeled up to the table on three sides, the lower being left open, that the servants might be able to approach the guests. They lay upon their left sides, with their heads toward the table, and their feet resting near the outer edge. This position would have been constrained and uneasy, had they not been supported; but the couches were provided with pillows, which could be arranged about the person, as the guest thought proper, against the back or under the side. Thus reclining, they fed themselves with the right hand, using neither fork nor spoon, the meat having been previously carved or torn in pieces. They often dipped bits of bread called sops, in the dish before they ate them. When they lay in this manner, one of course had his back turned to the person next to him, and when he wished to speak with his neighbor, he turned in such a way, as to bring his head upon the other's bosom. So that the expression, 'to be in another's bosom,' only meant being honored with a place next him at the table.

The custom of reclining prevailed also among the Greeks and Romans. It was spread by the latter in the countries they subdued, which accounts for our finding it so general in Judea, when our Saviour came. They only reclined, however, at supper, which answered to our dinner, and was the principal meal of the day. The breakfast was light, consisting of fruit and wine. Near noon, they took what is sometimes improperly called a dinner; it was a luncheon, eaten without the form of collecting round the table. At supper, the main business of eating for the day was done. The master of the house and the older part of the family reclined; but the boys and girls, who were not then regarded as so important members of society as at present, sat at the foot of the table. Before the meal began, water and towels were handed to each, for the purpose of washing their hands, which there is reason to believe, was not a needless form. The guests brought each a napkin from home to use during dinner, and if any thing particularly struck their fancy, they used, by permission of the host, to wrap it in this napkin and send it home. Carving was an art regularly taught in schools, established for the purpose; institutions which might be revived with advantage. The carvers delighted to show their skill, and at large entertainments, they carved to the sound of music, keeping time.

The old English arrangements of the table were peculiar, and in some respects, patriarchal. The whole family, bond and free, sat at one table, the distinctions of rank being marked by the elevation of different parts of the table, or by the *salt*, which was generally large and of curious workmanship, placed upon the board to mark the boundary line. At the Percy table, the Earl's family were elevated above the knights and gentlemen, and they in turn, above the common herd of retainers. The Earl's table was provided with linen, that of the knights also had a table-cloth, which a distinguished historian conjectures, was washed once a month, though of this there is no certainty. It may enlighten us as to the scrupulous neatness of that day, to know, that the cost of washing in this family of two hundred persons, was never to exceed forty shillings a year, most of which was expended on the linen of the chapel. Holinshed complains of the exchange of *treene* (wooden) platters for pewter, and of wooden spoons for silver and tin ones. 'So common,' says he, 'were treene vessels in old time, that you should hardly find four pieces of pewter, one

of which was peradventure a salt, in a good farmer's house. But now, our pewterers are grown so cunning, that they can in manner imitate any form or fashion of cup, dish, salt, or goblet, though it were never so curious and very artificially forged.'

The hours of the principal meals have varied in different ages, according to taste and climate. Those of the Greeks and Romans were rather earlier than those of the Hebrews. The former supped at three after noon in winter, and at four in summer; the general rule was to defer it till the great heat of the day was past. The variation of the hours illustrates the caprice of fashion; formerly the more fashionable used to show their superiority by taking their meals earlier than others. They bathed an hour before supper, and took exercise before bathing; the boys whipping tops, young men driving hoops and balls, and old men walking or riding. Similar notions of fashion prevailed in England. 'With us,' says an old black-letter historian, 'the nobility and gentry go ordinarily to dinner at eleven, before noon, and sup at five; merchants do dine at noon, and sup at six; husbandmen dine at high noon, and sup at six or seven;' so that, according to our ideas, the husbandmen were the most fashionable of all.

The next important art which we shall mention, is that of making houses. This, one would have thought, would be the first to improve; but men, in all ages, have shown a contentment with their accommodations of this kind, which is strongly contrasted with their impatience in other things. It is not every nation, that has felt the need of improving in this respect upon the provisions of nature. Some tribes, mentioned in Scripture, lived in caves; but as dwellings of this kind were not to be found every where, a cheap and airy dwelling was constructed, by tying together the branches of trees into tabernacles or arbors. In very cold climates, the snow affords materials for a comfortable dwelling. The Esquimaux still make use of them; as the heat does not escape through the snow, the air is warm within, while the cold without prevents the light material from dissolving. Tents also, covered with cloth or skins, have been largely used instead of houses, in civil as well as military life.

The Jews, Greeks and Romans seem to have been more ambitious to make their temples and public buildings splendid; acting upon that curious principle, which has so often made

the many labor for the few; rather thankful for the opportunity, than provoked with the compulsion. The earliest kind of oriental mansion, of which we know any thing, is the same which is still in use in those countries. It consisted of buildings surrounding an open court, with roofs nearly level, sloping about an inch in ten feet, and covered with a composition of pounded stone, coal ashes, chalk and gypsum, which effectually excluded the rain. There was a breast-work all round, to prevent accidents; the same which was removed to let down the paralytic to our Saviour, as he stood in the court below. The family passed much time upon the roof in good weather, and often had a stair-case on the outside, by which they could go up or down, without passing through the house. They often slept upon the house-top also, but not without a canopy, to protect them from the dew.

The door was in the side toward the street, and opened into a room, which had another door opening into the court-yard. From this apartment, stair-cases led to the roof and chambers. The court-yard was surrounded with galleries and piazzas. The apartments of the females were in the most retired part of the house, where their windows looked into a garden. Homer speaks of women in his day, as generally confined in the upper story. The stories of the houses are not a modern invention. Diodorus says, that houses in Babylon were sometimes five or six stories high.

The general form of houses among the Greeks and Romans did not differ very widely from this, excepting that they often had two courts, and that the stables were on one side of the principal entrance, near the door. It would seem from an expression of Tacitus, that every one put up his house wherever he thought proper and could find room. Private houses of the common sort were generally built of wood, and as we are told, that they were often dangerous from their height,—three stories,—we must infer that they were rather mean constructions.

Wood was a cheap material in those days as well as ours; but they did not understand the art of using it to advantage; they were much more familiar with the means of employing marble and stone for the purposes of building. The art of sawing marble is very ancient; but it is tolerably clear that it was done without that instrument to which we give the name of saw. Pliny describes different kinds of sand which were

used in this operation, and expressly says, that the sand produced the effect. It is not quite clear who is to have the praise of having invented this useful instrument; Pliny says Daedalus, others say Talus and Perdix. We regard as apocryphal the story, that the inventor employed the back-bone of a fish in the first stages of his invention. With such an instrument he might have kept on sawing to the present day without dividing a stick of wood in sunder. We should rather suppose, that by '*spina piscis*,' something more was meant than meets the ear, as the prohibition of Pythagoras, which prevented his disciples from using beans, referred not, as one might suppose, to an indigestible food, but to the beans which were used for voting at elections. We know of no fish but the saw-fish which is provided with tools of this description.

The old practice in making boards was to split up the logs with wedges; and inconvenient as the practice was, it was no easy matter to persuade the world that the thing could be done in any better way. Saw-mills were first used in Europe in the 15th century; but so lately as 1555, an English ambassador, having seen a saw-mill in France, thought it a novelty which deserved a particular description. It is amusing to see how the aversion to labor-saving machinery has always agitated England. The first saw-mill was established by a Dutchman, in 1663; but the public outcry against the new-fangled machine was so violent, that the proprietor was forced to decamp with more expedition than ever did Dutchman before. The evil was thus kept out of England for several years, or rather generations; but in 1768, an unlucky timber-merchant, hoping that after so long a time the public would be less watchful of its own interests, made a rash attempt to construct another mill. The guardians of the public welfare, however, were on the alert, and a conscientious mob at once collected and pulled the mill to pieces. Such patriotic spirit could not always last, and now, though we have nowhere seen the fact distinctly stated, there is reason to believe that saw-mills are used in England.

The art of civil architecture has advanced in England under such encouragement, with all the rapidity which might be expected. In the time of Alfred, houses were rather indifferent things. We are told by a Saxon historian, that Alfred wished to construct a machine for distinguishing the hours of the day and night, because, says the oracle of Sir Roger de

Coverley and Nicol Jarvie, 'there was at that time no special way of distinguishing them.' He marked a candle into several divisions, each to represent an hour by the time consumed in burning; but so much wind was perpetually coming in through the *chinks* of the palace, that nothing could be determined by this kind of measure. If the aforesaid chinks in the palace had not been stopped, or the public eye blinded, it is doubtful whether royal government would have lasted till the present day. Modern sovereigns have been more disposed to kill time than to measure it; and it is on the whole, the most harmless kind of murder in which great men can indulge their ambition.

In the time of Elizabeth, the general style of building was not very superior to the one just mentioned. 'Building,' says Harrison, 'consisteth of timber cast over with clay to keep out the wind.' One would suppose that the window, if, as old writers say, it was a *wind-door* for the purpose of admitting that element, would have been a very useless addition to the expense of such constructions. The ancients, as Herculaneum sufficiently proves, understood the art of making glass; but they seldom, if ever, used it for their windows.* Down to the twelfth century oiled paper or linen were used instead of it, and, perhaps, admitted as much light as one of our ground-glass windows. The complaint that effeminacy gains ground, is not limited to any age. Old Holinshed in his chronicle bewails the changes that are taking place in building. He says, 'in times past, men were contented to dwell in houses of sallow, willow, &c. so that the use of the oak was in a measure dedicated wholly unto churches, religious houses, princes' palaces, and navigation; but now sallow, &c. are rejected, and nothing but oak any where regarded; and yet see the change: when our houses were builded of willow, then had we oaken men; but now that our houses are come to be made of oak, our men are not only become willow, but a great many altogether of straw; which is a sore alteration.'

We come next to the art of warming houses, an art of some importance in a climate like ours, where it is required two thirds of every year. Not a vestige of a chimney is found in

* Bonuci, in his History of Pompeii, published at Naples in 1828, describes the bathing-room in the house of Diomedes as having a window, provided with *four panes of glass, similar to ours.* See the Vestal, a Tale of Pompeii, p. 186; a work that does great credit to the talent and research of the young author.

Herculaneum, nor is there any reason to believe that they were known in ancient times. The name was given to the hole in the roof through which the smoke escaped after the manner alluded to by Horace, when he compared care to smoke passing round the ceiling. The ancients made use of the smoke to season the wood which they used for particular purposes; such as making ploughs, wagons, and rudders. Still it was a serious inconvenience to them, and they tried various means to rid themselves of an evil, which caused them to shed many tears. They peeled the bark from wood; immersed it in water, and let it dry; hardened it over the fire; soaked it in the lees of oil; but all to no purpose. Athenæus says, that one of the qualifications of a good cook is to know in which direction the smoke will move, for it often spoils many dishes. Columella gave directions for making the kitchen roof so high as not to be set on fire. If the proverb, 'the smoke follows the fairest,' be ancient, as Sir Thomas Brown declares, the incense paid to beauty must have been infinitely more abundant in that day, though possibly less acceptable, than in ours.

The houses in oriental nations were not furnished either with fire-places or stoves. A brazier with fire in it was carried wherever fire was wanted, and the smoke escaped in its own way, no express provision being made for its retreat.

It appears from Seneca, that the Romans were partially acquainted with an invention, which has been thought quite new. Their common practice seems to have been to keep a fire in the great hall in a metallic vessel. The *images* were stationed in this apartment, and hence derived the name of 'smoky' images. But, beside this, as this writer informs us, they conducted warm air from a furnace to any part of the building. This statement is confirmed by a discovery made at Herculaneum. Under the lower apartments of a ruined villa, were found chambers about as high as a common table excavated like our cellars. These chambers were made very close to prevent the escape of the heat; they were roofed with broad tiles and supported by pillars, which, as well as the tiles, were strongly cemented, that the heat might not separate them. Here the fire was made, and in the roofs of these chambers were square pipes of clay hanging half way down, the mouths opening into the apartments above. Similar pipes were carried into the second story of the house. The mouths of these pipes were ornamented with a lion's head of burnt clay, and

so formed that they could be regulated at pleasure. The vapor or steam-bath was situated directly over one of these chambers. Truly, there is nothing new under the sun.

Whatever may be meant by the '*lapis obsidianus*' of Pliny, there is no proof that coal was used by the ancients as fuel; in fact, had they known some kinds of our coal, they would not have thought of employing them except as a material for fire-proof buildings. In England, pieces of coal have been found under the Roman military roads, which shows that the article was known, but it was not used to any considerable extent till the forests had begun to fail. We learn from Stow, that in the time of Edward I., the nobility and gentry, who resorted to London, made a remonstrance to the king against what they called 'the sore annoyance and danger of contagion growing by reason of the stench of burning sea-cole.' Whereupon the king issued an order, that 'all men should cease burning cole.' Fortunately kings have no power to repeal the law of nature, which provides that when wood becomes more valuable for other purposes it shall cease to be applied to this, and has provided abundant magazines of coal, which are brought to light whenever and wherever they happen to be wanted.

We really shiver as we read the sparing provision made for this kind of comfort in the great household of Northumberland. Only twenty-four fires were allowed, beside that of the kitchen, and to most of these the allowance was but a peck of coals a day. Nearly all these fires ceased at Lady-day, except those of the Earl's family, which continued on half-pay for a short time after. There must have been much cold weather after the 25th of March, unless the seasons have undergone a great and melancholy alteration. But habit may have reconciled them to this privation; and, in truth, the transition was not very great from such fires as could be made with a peck of coals a day, to no fire at all. Where the wind is not tempered to the lamb, the lamb is tempered to the wind, which answers the purpose as well.

The oldest mention made of chimneys, such as are used at present, is in a Venetian inscription, which states that some were thrown down by an earthquake, in 1347. They could not have been introduced in England till long after this time, since Holinshed, who lived in the sixteenth century, mentions them as among the growing luxuries and corruptions of the times. He alludes to them more in sorrow than in anger,

and as if he were aware that the obvious advantages attending them would render vain all attempts to put them down. Still he thinks it his duty to file a solemn protest against them. 'Now we have many chimnies; and yet our tenderlines complain of rheums, catarrhs, and poses; then we had none but reredosses, and our heads did never ache. For as the smoke was supposed to be a sufficient hardening for the timber of the house, so it was reputed a far better medicine to keep the good man and his family from the quack or pose, wherewith then very few were acquainted.' He says, that in his younger days, there were not above three or four chimneys in 'the most uplandish towns in the realme,' but that every man made his fire against a 'reredosse,' in the hall where he dined and dressed his meal.

We come now to the bed. In the early ages, skins were generally used both for bed and pillow. In travelling, the wayfarer was content to take a stone for a pillow, and having spread his upper garment on it, to sleep without any further preparation. Carpets were sufficient for this purpose with most of the people in later times, and had the advantage of being easily transported from one place to another. In order to take up his bed and walk, a man had nothing to do but to roll it up and place it under his arms. This seems to have been the only purpose for which carpets were used in ancient times. There are not many regions of the earth, even now, in which they are generally employed as a covering for floors. The old practice in England was to strew the floor with rushes, so that visiters, who could not find any other seat, might, without much inconvenience, deposit themselves upon the floor. But even as regards the interests of neatness, it would have been quite as well to have left it bare, for Erasmus, in describing respectable English houses, gives us to understand, that under the rushes with which the floor was spread, lay a collection of fragments, bones, beer, and a thousand other abominations. He says, that no doubt the frequent plagues in England were owing to this unsavory practice; and there has been no example of that disorder since the great fire in London, in the time of Charles II., purified the city. This exemption was, probably, ascribed to the operation of quarantine laws, since every nation makes it a point of honor to deny that plague or yellow fever ever originated at home.

But to return to the bed. In the times of the Hebrew

kingdom, the bed resembled a divan, consisting of a low elevation running round three sides of a small room. This was covered with stuffed cushions of the same width, and bolsters were put on the back against the wall. They also had beds resembling our sofas; but these were luxuries; a carpet was enough for the greater proportion of the people. The Romans, luxurious as they were, do not appear to have made use of feather-beds much before the time of Pliny. In the early republican times they slept on leaves, afterwards they used hay and straw. The luxury of the Greeks and Romans did not consist in their sleeping accommodations. The dining couch was a much more effeminate affair.

Till the close of the thirteenth century, straw was common in the chambers of palaces. The kings of England used to sleep, father and son in the same chamber. How retired a king's bed-chamber was, appears from a story told by Stow, of an early English king, whose treasury was near his bed. One evening a young man came in and stole some money, thinking that the king was asleep. Having secured that, he returned for more, but the sovereign, who had seen him all the while, said, 'Thou art too greedie, young man, take what thou hast and be content, for if my treasurer come in, he will not leave thee one penny.'

There has been no regular improvement in the art of sleeping. It has varied with the taste of individuals and countries. Every one knows the story of the chieftain of Lochiel, kicking the snow-ball pillow from under the head of his huntsman, and telling him that he had no business to be more delicate than other people. The heath bed has enjoyed much reputation in Scotland. The author of Waverley tells us, that within his remembrance, after large parties, the ladies would sleep a score in a chamber, while the gentlemen asked no better quarters than the barn. Our ancestors in England were not too particular in this respect. Holinshed says, 'Our fathers, and we ourselves, have lain full oft upon straw pallettes covered only with a sheet, under coverlets made of dagswaine or hopharlets, and a good round log under their heads for a bolster. If it were so, that the father or good man of the house had a mattress or flock-bed, and thereto a sack of chaff to rest his head upon, he thought himself to be as well lodged as the lord of the town, so well were they contented. Pillows, said they, were thought meet only for sick women. As for servants,

if they had any sheet above them it was well; for very seldom had they any under to keep them from the pricking straws.'

We must now give some little account of the subject of dress. The practice of weaving wool, cotton, and flax, is of very great antiquity. The Egyptians excelled in it; and that the Israelites profited by their teaching, appears from the decorations of the tabernacle, which were made in the wilderness under every possible disadvantage. Woollen was less valued than cotton, and cotton less than linen, hair-cloth least of all. Cotton cloth was left white; the others were colored with a purple dye procured from a certain shell-fish. Scarlet was obtained from an insect found upon the oak. The dark blue or hyacinth, was formed by an extract from the cuttle-fish. Party-colored cloths were most admired, and a coat of many colors was an object of as much ambition, as a shirt of furniture calico among our Indians now. The Hebrews, it is well known, were forbidden to wear a garment made of wool and linen united; probably, this order was intended to keep them apart from the heathen, by whom such a dress was very generally worn.

In one respect, the ancients differed materially from the moderns. With them a dress descended from father to son, and from generation to generation, without being subject to the 'proud man's contumely,' by reason of its being out of fashion. Those were days in which the tailor did not make the man; no cravat bound the throat, to remind the exquisite of the destiny to which all may come; no bonds, save those of justice, ever imprisoned the free limb; no tight shoe gave anguish to the much-enduring toe. The garments might then be made at once for the life-time; and if neither moth nor thief reached them, they were a safe property, which did not lose its value. Perhaps some future lexicographer may find here the etymology of the word *investment*, which, albeit unauthorized in this sense by Johnson, is a word, which stirs like the sound of a trumpet, many a heart in our land.

The most ancient garment was the tunic; which was a sort of gown fitted to the form, having short sleeves and a girdle. This was worn by both sexes. There were two kinds of girdle; one made of leather and secured by clasps, the other of cloth; both were employed as purses, having an opening through which money could be inserted. When a person had

no garment but the tunic, he was said to be naked; a fact which throws light upon some passages of Scripture, and removes, in some slight degree, the reproach which rests upon the exercises of the Spartan girls.

The upper garment was a plain piece of cloth, generally ten or twelve feet long, and half as wide; which we suppose would now be called a mantle. It was often woven in a single piece without a seam, and was thrown like a shawl over the shoulders; sometimes drawn over the left shoulder and fastened at two corners by a buckle on the right. It was on this garment that the Hebrews were directed by Moses to wear the blue riband which distinguished them from other nations. The poor used it as the Highlanders did their plaid, for bed-clothes by night; and for this reason, if the Hebrew creditor had seized this article of dress, he was compelled by law to restore it before night-fall. The chief difference between the male and female dress was, that the latter always wore the veil. Laboring men went to their work without the upper garment, which explains the prophecy, that at the siege of Jerusalem, they will have no time to return for their clothes. When they went to any distance on foot, they gathered the tunic in folds, and secured it with their girdle at the waist, that it might not embarrass their feet; this was called girding the loins.

The dress of the Greeks and Romans was not very different from this. It was flowing and graceful; but while we allow that in point of freedom and appearance their drapery was better than ours, we maintain, that in some other respects the advantage is decidedly our own. What is now called linen, for example, an article so important that no man willingly dispenses with it, was wholly unknown to the ancients, and had they known it, its advantages would have been in a measure neutralized, by their practice of putting oil on their limbs and head. There are some respects in which the personal habits of the ancients will not bear investigation. The pocket-handkerchief, which is found in all but the most benighted portions of the modern world, was not among their comforts and blessings; and what supplied its place is more easily imagined than described. As one other slight indication, Pompey the Great appears to have been ridiculed by a satirist, because, with a remarkable effeminacy, he made use of but one finger in scratching his head.

It is no easy matter to tell when the modern dress was first used. Nothing resembling pantaloons was worn by Hebrew or Greek, nor the earlier Romans. It appears that they were known in Babylon, and were so made as to cover the foot, so that the hint of the stocking was evidently taken from an amputated leg of this garment. Something of the kind was also in use among the Gauls, who were in general by no means curious in such matters, and in the fifth century they were worn in Rome; but it was thought beneath the majesty of Rome to borrow fashions from a conquered people; and a law was passed, compelling all who made or wore them to retreat with their new finery from the premises of the city. The modern small-clothes were first worn in the time of Louis XVI.; the article in Scripture, which bears a similar name, was nothing more than an apron gathered round the waist and falling to the knees. As this article of dress originated in France, it came near ending where it began. Few specimens of it being found in the regiment of Anacharsis Clootz, it was rejected from the revolutionary uniform, not so much by positive edict as gradual decay, and in this situation, like other patriots, they represented themselves as sacrificing their private comfort for the public welfare.

It would be amusing enough to trace the history of English fashions, but we have not room. It seems that they depended very much upon those of their neighbors. After the successes of Edward I., most of the English ladies were provided with foreign dresses, and, as might be expected, we are informed by Stow, that 'the matrons being proud in their French apparelle, did brag.' In Henry IVth's time, says the same authority, 'was excessive pride in dress; gownes with deepe and broad sleeves, commonly called poke sleeves, which might be called receptacles of the divell, for they did hide what they stole in their sleeves, whereof some hung down to the knees full of cuttes and jagges.' From this it appears that the female fashion of the day is not without reason and example. Edward IV. ordained that no persons under a certain degree, 'should weare in their array any bolsters of wool or cotton.' But there is no end to the list of extravagant fashions. Queen Elizabeth passed more laws than one to restrain extravagance in dress; as a comment on her judicious regulations we may mention, that at her death, more than three thousand dresses were found in her wardrobe, being probably

all that she had ever worn in her lifetime, since it is not upon record that she ever gave any thing away.

Anciently there was no covering for the head, except the mitre for the priests and princes. The Eastern nations were fond of displaying the hair; the Roman ladies made a practice of dying it yellow or red. The modern hat was not worn till the fifteenth century; before that time they used woollen caps, when the weather required any protection for the head.

The covering for the feet needs to be more particularly mentioned. Sandals were most common among the orientals. As they were mere soles of wood or leather fastened to the foot with strings, they were no protection from the dust; hence arose the hospitable practice of washing the visiter's feet; a practice so much insisted upon by public opinion, that if any one passing out of a house beat the dust from his feet, it showed that they had not been washed, and left on the house the reproach of inhospitality, which was the deepest of all dishonor.

The Greeks and Romans added the moccason or buskin to the sandal; the former was worn by tragic actors. The shoe makes quite a figure in English history. In the time of Richard I., says Stow, 'began the detestable use of piked shooes, the toes being tied up to the knee with chains of silver or guilt.' Edward IV., says the same historian, ordained 'that no man weare shooes or boots having toes passing two inches long; no peakes of boots or shooes to pass that length on pain of cursing by the clergie.'

The art of knitting was unknown to the ancients; that of netting they understood. This has occasioned some slight perplexity to scholars, who are not supposed to know the difference between the two operations. Knitting is tolerably well known. We have looked into Johnson's folio to ascertain what net-work is; he defines it as 'any thing reticulated or decussated at equal distances, with interstices between the intersections.' If this does not explain it, we know not what will. Those of our readers, if any there be, who have no stockings, may be comforted by the assurance, that all the great men of antiquity were, so far as this privation goes, equally unhappy.

The stocking-loom was invented by William Lee, an Englishman, in the year 1589. Several romantic stories are told of the first suggestion of this invention; that, for example, it

owed its existence to a passion for a girl, who paid more attention to her knitting than to him, which induced him to turn his attention in the same direction. The French have claimed the invention, probably, because Lee, finding no favor in England, went over to Paris, and was patronized by Henry IV., but being neglected after the murder of that King, he died in distress at that city.

It is well known that silk, which is now so generally employed in the manufacture of stockings, was introduced into the Roman empire by Justinian. But some are perplexed by the mention made of silk in Scripture, in the history of Alexander the Great, and in the Georgics of Virgil. The kind of moth, whose winding-sheet is so much employed by the human race at present, has supplanted various kinds that were known before, such as lived on the oak, pine, and ash; and another, which was called the silk-worm of the sea, the silk being the delicate cordage with which the mother-of-pearl lashes itself to the rock. The Chinese, or mulberry silk-worm, has taken place of the rest—except in Ceos in the Archipelago. Chateaubriand mentions, that in visiting that island he called on the Bishop, whom he found engaged in spinning; the prelate, who was a decided utilitarian, sharply reproved the traveller, telling him that he might improve his time better than in searching for bits of old marble.

As soon as stockings were invented, they began to make them of silk. Howell says, 'that great and expensive prince, Henry VIII. wore ordinarily cloth hose, except when there came from Spain, by great chance, a pair of silk stockings. King Edward, his son, was presented with a pair of long Spanish silk stockings by Thomas Gresham, his merchant, and the present was much taken notice of.' Stow says, that 'in the third year of Elizabeth, Mistress Montague having presented the queen with a pair of silk stockings, she was so delighted with them, that she never would weare cloth hose after.' How valuable such a possession was in that day, appears from a letter of James I., written while he was king of Scotland. It was addressed to the Earl of Mar, telling that nobleman, that the Spanish Ambassador was to be presented at court, and begging the loan of his stockings for the occasion. It contains this touching appeal; 'Ye would na sure that your king should appear as a scrub before strangers.'

There are interesting questions connected with this subject;

why, for example, are the arts of life so humble and mechanical, while the arts of death are so imposing and high. But we have not room to discuss them. We hope that these inventions will continue to multiply, and are content to esteem as a benefactor to mankind, every one who adds to their number. It is true, they are things that pass away; this is because one improvement follows and supplants another; it is like the teeth of childhood; the new push out the old, and are ready to take their places when they fall.

ART. IV.—*Pennsylvanian Biography.*

Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Part II. Philadelphia. 1830.

We have always attached great importance to the systematic study, as a part of education, of the personal narrative of the Revolution. No nation the world has ever known can make a more substantial boast, as respects the character of its founders, than we can, and classical antiquity has no more romantic picture than our free infancy presents. Pride in such an ancestry is an elevated and honorable sentiment, which we would fondly cherish, as calculated to fill a void which may be less beneficially supplied. 'Ad illa, pro se quisque acriter intendat animum, quæ vita, qui mores fuerint; per quos viros, quibus artibus domi militiæque partum et auctum imperium sit.' It is surely not extravagant to say, that the man, who thoroughly imbibes the spirit of romantic devotion which actuated our revolutionary progenitors, will scorn the humbler associations of ephemeral politics, and, in aiming at an imitation of the virtues of our heroic age, will rise to a level suited to such an emulation. Let any one study with attention the biographies of such men as James Otis and Josiah Quincy, and watch the developement of patriotic ardor, which, when once it burst into a flame, defied control, the fearlessness that shrunk from no danger and despised all compromise, the willing immolation of every selfish feeling, and the romantic consecration of every faculty to what seemed to be the engrossing purpose of their being, and he will hardly view with much respect the feats and honors of a modern politician. We have referred to these two instances, on account of their marked peculiarity, and be-

cause they are among the few, which the care of posterity has illustrated. The principles on which they acted were those which guided every patriot of the times. There seemed to be a holy atmosphere that enveloped the soil of freedom, and exerted its genial influence on all who breathed it. It is painful to confess, that less pure breezes have occasionally tainted this consecrated element, and to observe the difference which, in point of moral and poetic beauty, may be discerned in the career of the same individual. We shall not easily forget the unpleasant effect produced by the contrast of the revolutionary with the post-revolutionary memoirs of Mr. Jefferson, his autobiography with his 'Ana.' In the first, we trace the operation of pure and patriotic sympathies, and affections too active and powerful to permit the intrusion of personal antipathy, or suspicion of any feeling unworthy of the great cause he was so anxiously promoting; in the last, it is impossible to be blind to the influence of party association on a vigorous and honorable mind, in fostering unkind resentments, and perpetuating hostility of the severest description. And yet, of all the eulogies which the natural enthusiasm of the day has bestowed on that great man, how few, in comparison, are founded on the enduring basis of his revolutionary services.

It is matter of sincere regret, that as a study and a part of at least accomplished education, the history and biography of the Revolution have been so grossly neglected. We do not hazard much in saying, that there is no given portion of modern history, with the details of which the great body of our fellow-citizens are less familiar, than that which records the actions of our immediate ancestry; and that there are many, very many Americans, young and old, who, while they would smile in scorn, if asked what 'ship-money' or '*lettres de cachet*' were, would pause in ignorance if catechised as to the objects of 'the Quebec bill' or the 'writs of assistance.' Hampden, and Russell, and Sidney, are names familiar to many, to whom the personal services of our own patriots are unknown. To produce a different result is the legitimate object of American literature, and it is with sincere pleasure that we hail any attempt, however humble, to rescue from the dark oblivion in which they have too long reposed, the records of our early fame. We would make it popular by all the fascinations of eloquence and all the mechanical embellishments of art. We would have a 'Family Library,' truly

national, and instead of tainting the minds of our children by access to the records of justified or palliated crime, in the biographies of profligate heroes and licentious monarchs,* we would chasten them by the habitual exhibition of virtues of domestic growth, and actions of appropriate interest. Independently of the ulterior consequence of contributing to the capital stock on which the future historian of our country will have to operate, the revolutionary biographer may be stimulated by the reasonable hope of giving a new and salutary direction to the public taste; and, putting out of view the practical and substantial benefits to which we have incidentally referred, he will find, that the personal narratives of our early history are replete with incident worthy of illustration from authors as able and accomplished as any that our country has yet produced.

Our attention has been recently directed anew to the materials for supplying the void to which we have alluded, by the publication of the volume whose title we have prefixed to this article. Though it is in itself meagre in point of novel information, the source from which it emanates entitles it to some notice at our hands, particularly as it professes, in part, to illustrate portions of our early history, which have hitherto been in great measure neglected. We refer, especially, to the revolutionary annals of what, at the commencement of the contest, was the metropolis of our country. It is matter of painful astonishment, that, with the abundance of materials and the acknowledged existence of the requisite ability, no biography of a Pennsylvanian patriot has yet appeared. The descendants of the great men whom that portion of the Union produced, owe a vast debt to their country, which we hope will before long be cancelled; and if such a result shall be at all promoted by the cursory remarks we have made, every object we have in view will be fully attained. There is a peculiar interest connected with this subject, which deserves a more specific reference, than our limits will now permit us to make. All that we hope to do, is to point to the soil beneath which the treasures are hidden. Boston and Philadelphia, at the commencement of the contest, were the two points at which the flame of active patriotism seemed to burn brightest. The density of city population

* No. VI. Harper's Family Library, Southey's Life of Nelson; No. XV. Croly's Life and Times of George IV.

quickened the contagion of revolutionary doctrines, and the fact, that the oppressive measures of the Government immediately affected commercial interests, rendered the large ports the scenes of the first grievance and complaint. Our city was the theatre of the first overt act of rebellion and actual insurrection. In fact, the materials for combustion had been long collecting there. At various times anterior to the general conflagration, the fire of opposition had burst forth; and though, as in the case of the combat with Captain Preston, it had been suppressed, every thing seemed on that account the more ready for rekindling, whenever accident should apply the torch. In our sister city, there was less harmony of sentiment and action, in consequence not only of a different constitution of society, but of an accidental difference in the course of events. Manifest as was the dissimilarity in the former particular, occasioned by the influence of the proprietary party, who had a direct and substantial interest in the preservation of tranquillity, and by the pacific tendency of the principles of the Society of Friends, it would beyond doubt have been less apparent, had the same impulse to violence been given. We do not pretend to say, that the staid and reflecting ancestors of our Philadelphia brethren would have gone to the work of rebellion, as did our progenitors, in masquerade; but there is every reason to believe, that, had the tea ships arrived first at that city, and the same arrogant folly and insolence been exhibited there as here, by the Government party, the waters of the Delaware would have been impregnated with the hated herb. As it was, there was more than one developement of excessive and appropriate exasperation. On receiving the intelligence of Dr. Franklin's examination before the Privy Council, a manifestation of feeling occurred, illustrative of the actual state of the public mind. A cart was prepared, with the usual decorations for such exhibitions, in which were placed the figures of the Solicitor-General, Mr. Wedderburne, and Governor Hutchinson, and in open defiance of the delegated authority of royalty, was drawn through the principal streets of the city, and with its contents publicly burned in the presence of an immense concourse at the Coffee-house. When the arrival of the tea ships was announced, a degree of excitement prevailed, which, had it not been tranquillized, would have led to open violence and resistance. Meeting after meeting had been held in anticipation of the event, and the most strenuous exertions made

by all parties, to give to the inevitable explosion a direction suited to their various views. A spontaneous, though informal resolution was taken, that the ordinary services of pilotage should be withheld; and though the leading whigs earnestly opposed such a course, as calculated to discredit the cause of opposition, the decision was formed and the vessel was unable to procure a pilot. Her actual arrival below the city was a signal for a more open demonstration of popular sentiment. A town meeting composed of several thousand citizens was convened, and resolutions suited to the meridian of Faneuil Hall were adopted, threatening summary retribution in case the wishes of the people should be slighted. This indication of certain consequences, the captain and consignees thought it expedient to regard; and in less than six hours from the time of dropping anchor in the Delaware, the ministerial adventure was on its return to Great Britain.

We have referred to the conduct of the Philadelphians in relation to the Revenue Bill rather than to that produced by the Stamp Act, because it better illustrates the actual state of feeling anterior to the catastrophe, and because it served immediately to bring forward the patriots, who, in the eventful struggles of succeeding years, gained enduring fame. Before this time the ardent and zealous, those who were truly the men of revolution, cautiously, and, from a strong sense of expediency, kept themselves in the shade until accident should occasion the final rupture. They felt that active participation on their part might produce a reaction, and, by rendering the timid still more cautious, might obstruct the current of popular feeling, which they knew would flow on without their interference. The necessity and propriety of this reserve resulted from a peculiarity in the political condition of the Province, arising from local causes, and from the great ascendency of the Quaker interest, whose acquiescence it was necessary for the popular party to secure. For many years, the councils of the Colony had been distracted by conflicts of a violent kind. There had been an uninterrupted series of disputes between the proprietaries and the popular branch of the Colonial Legislature, of which the natural result was increased obstinacy on both sides, without the least shadow of concession by either. The Quakers, uniformly the predominant sect, averse in all instances from extremities of any kind, had acquired great influence, by their wealth, their numbers, and their respectability,

and, by the inculcation of their pacific tenets, obviated the effect of contests so bitter and unremitting. Had these principles been less prevalent, different consequences would have ensued, and the Assembly of this Colony, like those of Virginia and Massachusetts, would have been the theatre of animated and fearless discussions, in which the least loyal doctrines would have been boldly uttered and resolutely sustained. As it was, however, in the first instance anti-ministerial, and *à fortiori* revolutionary opinions met with comparatively little favor. Every effort was made to prevent a rupture, which, if it once occurred, every one knew must be irreparable. It was necessary to try every conceivable project of conciliation and compromise, before this pacific set of men could be induced to enter the ranks of opposition. During the disputes with the Governors, the Friends had consistently supported what were called the popular doctrines, and had uniformly opposed the proprietary interests. Transition from one kind of opposition to another would seem to be natural. Yet, with all their inveterate and well-ascertained antipathy to the proprietors, and their avowed anxiety to alter the form of Colonial Government, they shrank from active resistance to the parent country, and scrupulously avoided the contagion of principles, by any construction or in any degree revolutionary. It was in this way, that the patriotic career of Pennsylvania was at first retarded, and it was on this account, that her active and zealous whigs appeared comparatively at a later period before the world. They were, for the reasons we have briefly stated, hampered by the necessity of a gradual persuasion of the Friends, and by the reasonable fear, that extreme measures of any kind, if taken too soon, would occasion a fatal secession. They had foresight enough to know that the halcyon season of equivocal tranquillity which then existed, and the continuance of which was the burthen of many a fervent prayer, could not in the nature of things endure long, and they attached too much importance to harmony of sentiment and action on the occurrence of the catastrophe, to endanger it by indiscreet and premature manifestations of their zeal. When Mr. Quincy, at a still later period, with characteristic ardor, complained in a letter to Mr. Dickinson, 'of the refinements, delays, and experiments of the Philadelphians,' he forgot the difference of the elements which he and his correspondent breathed; that while in the one place the atmosphere was

electrical with indignant zeal, and but one voice was heard and one sentiment uttered; in the other there was a temporary qualification of hostile feeling, which time only could remove. He knew nothing of the anxieties and deferred hopes of those who sympathized with every grievance, and bitterly lamented their inability to place themselves at once in the line of opposition.

The crisis was not long postponed. The unceremonious refusal to permit the importation of the tea shipments, was an act of confessed illegality and aggravated insult, which no one was so sanguine as to suppose would be allowed to pass unnoticed by the ministry, and every one waited in silent expectation for the developement of vengeance. The Bostonians had thrown the tea into the river. The Philadelphians had not, because they had found in those interested more compliant adversaries, but had compelled the captain to carry back his cargo whence it came. The difference of offence was slight, for though there was but one criminal overt act, so perfect was the sympathy throughout the Colonies, that there were no degrees of excitement on this point, and those who had most actively offended were not more reasonably apprehensive than those who had justified the act of violence, and whose innocence of outrage could only be attributed to the want of opportunity. For several months after the tea ship sailed, there was an ominous tranquillity, broken by no expression of public feeling. It was the boding quiet that precedes the storm. There is a passage in the life of the puritan, Colonel Hutchinson, couched in the quaint language of the day, which is accurately descriptive of the period to which we allude; 'The land,' says the fair historian, 'was then at peace,—it being towards the end of the reigne of King James I.,—if that quietness may be called a peace, which was rather like the calme and smooth surface of the sea, whose dark womb is already impregnated of a horrid tempest.' Legislative omnipotence, the vital principle of the Stamp Act, the declaratory law and the Revenue Bill had been defied, and no one doubted, that severe retribution would follow the commission of what, on the royal and ministerial scale of criminality, was the height of political enormity. The bolt of vengeance did not long lie unemployed in the metropolitan armory. The fury of insulted authority was realized and concentrated in the Boston Port Bill, the news of which, and of the conduct of its

immediate victims, reached Philadelphia in the early part of May, 1774, and marked the era of the full developement of the patriotic zeal, which previously had been unnaturally suppressed.

The object we have had in view, is not to dwell upon the details of local history further than as they illustrate the valuable biographical materials which are yet to be produced. The prominent incidents of the times have been recorded by the general historian; but the hidden impulses to action, the secret motives, the remote and final causes of these results, can be ascertained only from the private and confidential correspondence of the patriots of the times. In the interval between the intelligence of the Port Bill, and the meeting of the Congress of 1774, each hour seemed destined to develope some new mode of oppression abroad, and some variety of excitement and resentment at home. On the part of the patriots, activity had usurped the place of deliberation, and compromise and conciliation were forgotten in the sense of the necessity of some kind of opposition to claims and impositions, felt and acknowledged by all but a small fragment of the community to be intolerable. By opposition we do not mean actual hostility and rebellion, having independence for its aim, for such a result we have no reason to believe was then generally anticipated, but resolute refusal to acknowledge the right of imposition and coercion, and a readiness to yield unreserved sympathy to those who were the immediate victims of ministerial tyranny. Such an opposition was fully organized in Philadelphia before the assembling of the General Congress. When that body met, the necessity of local exertion seemed to be in a measure removed, and the individuals who had been the heroes of the provincial stage, and to whose merits and efforts we wish especially to refer, were transferred to a higher sphere of action on the legislative theatre of the nation. The proceedings of the Congress of 1774 are matters of history, to which we refer no further than incidentally to notice them. It was the venerable parent of American legislation, the untainted source of our national honor and renown. It was an assembly placed by the character of its objects above the suspicion of impure or selfish motive, representing the majesty of an injured people, and acting under the guidance of no wish, but to do full justice to the end of its institution. It embodied all the romance and purity of purpose that adorn revolutions, and was destitute of

all the fanaticism and absurd and vulgar violence, that often disfigure them. On the minds of the citizens of the capital where it was convened, it had a most happy influence. All parties seemed to be satisfied. The personal character of the members, who were known to be, without exception, men of commanding intelligence and unquestioned respectability, was such as to inspire unlimited confidence. The mystery with which their deliberations were conducted, and the unanimity with which it was believed that all their resolutions had passed, although, as in the case of Mr. Galloway's proposition, which was adopted by a majority of but one Colony, there had been little harmony as to questions of policy; the manifest cordiality which marked their personal intercourse; the firm, but temperate tone of their published addresses, the most decided of which was the answer to the Suffolk County resolutions;—all had a tendency to compose the previous political agitation, and to assuage the bitterness of feeling, which had before been manifested. It is remarkable, considering the result, that the various views of all parties in the Province should have been so happily met. The zealous patriots, who, in case of extremity, looked directly to the last resort, knew that whilst temporizing measures were sanctioned by the Congress, in which body there were many as ardent as themselves, they could have no reason to complain. Those, again, who felt an equal interest in the support of Colonial rights, but who deemed temperance of language and action the safest and best policy, were satisfied with the moderation and caution of the Congress, and with the conviction, that those whom they regarded as their proper representatives, had great influence in that assembly. Even the timid and disaffected had less reason for discontent than they had anticipated. They, too, had their representatives, who, as in the instance of Mr. Galloway, were distinguished for talent and influence; and they found consolation amid their fears and forebodings in a decided preference of the counsels of the moderate party, with whom they had some sympathy, to those of the ultra patriots, with whom they had none. Such was the state of feeling in Pennsylvania on perceiving the success of this first experiment of independent legislation; and the satisfaction which all expressed was realized in the apparent cordiality with which the non-importation and non-consumption agreements were adopted and enforced. When these measures of peace-

ful, but resolute opposition were recommended by Congress, it was not done by ordinary legislative resolutions, but by a solemn compact signed by the members, by which they bound themselves and their constituents 'by the sacred ties of virtue, honor, and love of country,' to the performance of the requisitions it prescribed. Public opinion fully sanctioned this obligation, and the loyal as well as the liberal portion of the citizens of Philadelphia, the tories as well as the whigs, immediately acceded to it.

In the Congress of 1774, there was one man, of whom his native State has especial reason to be proud, and whose memory we hope she religiously cherishes. We refer to the first of a triumvirate of patriots, to whom only we shall be able to allude at this time, John Dickinson, of Pennsylvania, the author of the Farmer's Letters. From the period of the first Colonial discontents, in consequence of the restrictions on the West India trade in 1763, and the Stamp Act in 1765, to the final catastrophe, Mr. Dickinson was the determined and efficient advocate of popular principles; and long before he was known beyond the limits of his native Colony, he had acquired a high and honorable distinction there by the part he had acted in the animated contests of local politics. The position he held was a singular and a fortunate one. He was friendly to the continuance of the proprietary form of government, which, in the peculiar circumstances of the times, he believed to be the one most conducive to the welfare of the community, and was at the same time intimately connected with the Friends, who, as we have said, were desirous of a change in the Colonial charter. From this peculiar relation, independently of the consideration of his commanding talents and unblemished private worth, his sentiments and conduct derived great influence. His constitutional moderation and deliberative disposition were remarkable. This distinction was not destined to be confined to the sphere of local action. The publication of the Farmer's Letters actually formed an era in the history of the times. They were republished and read throughout all the Colonies. No one of the numerous publications of the day acquired greater celebrity, and many, which, from peculiar circumstances, enjoyed for a time equal repute, were of far inferior merit. They are the finished product of the scholar's labors, and contain the genuine expression of the patriot's aspirations. In them, the student of revolutionary

history will find a strain of simple and fervent eloquence suited to the theme, and an aptness of illustration and force of reasoning the most admirable and conclusive. If beauty of style and interest of subject form the essence of the distinction, they are part of the classical literature of our country. Their effect at the time of their publication was inconceivable, and the Pennsylvania Farmer was at once ranked among the most eloquent advocates of resistance that had then appeared. Yet who reads the Farmer's Letters now, and how many are there, we ask the question mournfully, of the multitudes of well-educated young men in our country, who have drunk largely of the poisoned stream of foreign political literature, and are familiar with all the gilded heresies which have been coined in the mint of British toryism, who are ignorant alike of the object and the author of these once celebrated productions? We will venture to express the hope, that some of those who peruse these pages will credit the cordial praise we have bestowed, and be induced to ascertain for themselves that our encomium is not undeserved. The tribute of admiration paid by Dugald Stewart to the early American state papers, is as justly due to the occasional publications of the day, of which the Farmer's Letters were beyond comparison the most distinguished. Mr. Dickinson was *par excellence* the writer for the first Congresses, and it is to his pen that we are indebted for a great portion of the addresses, which embodied in language so appropriate the resentment of an injured people. He wrote 'what the thunders uttered.' The addresses of the various conventions of his native Colony, the instructions from the people of Pennsylvania to their delegates in the General Assembly, the letters of Congress to the Canadians, and to the inhabitants of Bermuda on the Quebec Bill, the address to the King, and many other papers, which our space will not permit us even to mention, were written by him. It is known that Mr. Dickinson was opposed to Independence at the time when it was decided on by Congress, and that he did not sign the Declaration. It is not our duty, in this place or at this time, to vindicate his fame. In his doubts, let it be remembered, he was not singular. Caution and deliberation, perhaps too uniformly operating, were his characteristics, and it is apparent from the detached portions of his private correspondence, which have met the public eye, that, as the crisis approached when the destinies of his country were to be deter-

mined, his constitutional temperament did not soon enough yield to the exigencies of the times, and that he hesitated a moment too long, and allowed others to adopt the decisive measure to which time would have reconciled him. His unpublished correspondence on this subject must be peculiarly interesting.

In strong contrast, in this particular, with the individual to whom we have just referred, was his early associate, Joseph Reed, subsequently President of the Executive Council of Pennsylvania. Of the character and temperament of the latter, we cannot convey a better idea than by describing him as the confidential and intimate friend of Warren and Quincy, and the one of their numerous correspondents to whom they seemed to write with the least reserve. Theirs was the intercourse of minds perfectly congenial, and confident, not merely in each other's faith, but in each other's zeal and enthusiasm. 'I congratulate you,' says Mr. Reed in a letter to Mr. Quincy, which has been published, 'on the rising glory of America; *our* operations have been almost too slow for the accumulated sufferings of Boston; but should our bloodless war fail of its effect, we are ready to make the last appeal rather than resign our liberties into the hand of any ministerial tyrant.' And it was in reply to this assurance, that his correspondent, filled with romantic enthusiasm at the prospect of events in which his hard fate prevented him from participating, made his prophetic declaration; 'I look to my countrymen with the feelings of one, who verily believes they must yet seal their faith and constancy with their blood. This is a distressing witness indeed. But hath not this ever been the lot of humanity? Have not blood and treasure in all ages been the price of civil liberty? Can Americans hope for a reversal of the laws of our nature, and that the best of blessings will be obtained and secured without the sharpest trials? Adieu, my friend. My heart is with you, and whenever my countrymen command, my person shall be also.' Mr. Reed belonged entirely to the era of the Revolution, the commencement and termination of his public life being coincident with the beginning and the end of the contest. His career was a short but a brilliant and eventful one, crowded with incidents worthy of ample illustration at the hands of those on whom the care of his memory has devolved. His private correspondence in 1774 with Lord Dartmouth, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, commenced

by the young American at the suggestion of some foreigners friendly to the Colonial cause, encouraged by the minister, and abruptly terminated by Mr. Reed on the occurrence of hostilities at Lexington, must possess great historical value. The other features of his biography are marked with equal interest. In the early stages of revolt and opposition at Philadelphia, he was the orator of the patriotic party, and the individual on whose eloquence the friends of liberty principally relied. The commanding position which he then assumed was not subsequently abandoned. As the confidential Secretary of Washington during the opening campaign in New England; as the bosom friend and destined biographer of Greene;* as the Executive head of his native State during the gloomiest period of the Revolution, when her counsels were distracted by faction, and her great energies paralyzed by the discord of her rulers and the temporary secession of her troops; as the valued military counsellor of the Commander-in-Chief in the anxious hours which preceded the attack on Trenton; as the successful prosecutor of Arnold for rapacity and peculation, whose treason he was the first to suspect and denounce; as the associate of Morris and Laurens in repelling the insidious attempts of the agents of ministerial corruption, the detailed history of which has never yet appeared; and as the author of the reply so often recorded, and never to be forgotten, 'that he was not worth buying, but that such as he was, the King of Great Britain was not rich enough to do it;' in all his relations to the history of the times, his character and actions are clothed with peculiar interest. A shade of gloom attended the close of his honorable career. The termination of the war found him with a constitution impaired by exposure to unremitting anxiety and fatigue, and at the early age of forty-two, when the powers of his brilliant mind had reached their full developement, and at a period of public affairs, when he might have won new honors in a new career, he sank a broken-hearted man into a premature grave, dug for him by the restless hands of political malignity. The record of his virtues and his actions has, we believe, never been attempted, and in the allusion we have made to them, we have been guided principally by the imperfect information which general history affords. We are aware

* President Reed actually commenced a biography of General Greene, as well as a history of the Revolution, in neither of which works did he live to make much progress.

how inadequate it is. It remains for others to do the subject more ample justice.

There is yet one name worthy of a far more substantial memorial than our transient pages can afford, with a reference to which we must conclude this article. We allude to that of Robert Morris, of whom it has been justly said, that our country, with a single exception, owes more to him than to any other individual of the times, and of whose public services, imperfectly as they have been understood and appreciated, we are reluctant incidentally to speak. The civil history of the Revolution is the history of Mr. Morris's life. The developement of his financial system,—and it is the highest praise to apply such a term to a structure raised on the uncertain soil, and adapted to the varying exigencies of revolution,—and the faithful narrative of his unwearied and successful efforts to supply aliment to the feeble Government which depended on him for sustenance, will be far more interesting than any historical or biographical memoir that has yet been written. It is a subject worthy of all that talent and experience can bestow on it. His services were confined to no local scene. His fame is part of the common property of the nation. The appointment of Mr. Morris to the office of Superintendent of the Finances was the great era of his life, and we had almost said, the most fortunate incident of the revolutionary contest. But the commencement of his usefulness, and of his public services, may be dated at a period long anterior. At the time of the first indication of serious opposition to the British Government, his native city and State acknowledged him as one of the most fearless and active of her patriots. The splendid services which he subsequently rendered, in the administration of the Continental finances, threw all the incidents of his previous life into the shade; but there was a beautiful unity in his whole career, which his future and faithful biographer will not forget. With respect to his administration of the fiscal concerns of the Confederation, it would be inconsistent with the design of these remarks to make any detailed or even general observations. What Mr. Morris accomplished, tradition and history have informed us, and in the blessings of our national credit, we realize the results of the system which he and his successor designed. How he accomplished the projects which his genius suggested, and with what specific difficulties and disappointments he had to contend, the progress of

his financial plans from conception to maturity, amid circumstances of every variety of depression and gloom that clouded every mind, and prostrated every spirit but his own, the succession of hopes and fears which were never intermitted;—these are points, which a personal memoir and the unreserved publication of his familiar and confidential correspondence can alone adequately illustrate. In the delineation of Mr. Morris's character and services, which we gather merely from the meagre and unsatisfactory memoirs which have been published, and from the details which have been preserved by his few surviving contemporaries, the strongest peculiarities are his unbounded personal influence, the fruit of a life of unblemished integrity, and the spirit of philosophic heroism with which he seems to have been actuated, and which in the course of his public life was most severely tried. Without his personal credit, the system he designed, successful as his inspiring genius made it, would have been nothing but an inoperative theory, and all the horrors of national bankruptcy and military despotism, the one rendered necessary by the other, must have ensued. It is said to have been the honorable distinction of the Spanish colonial merchants, that in commercial intercourse with them, the artificial securities of notes and guarantees were never resorted to, and that an entry in their own books, or a mere parol promise, using the word in its ordinary sense, constituted a safe and religious obligation. Confidence like this, which never was, and never will be habitual with us even in peaceful times, Mr. Morris was enabled to realize amidst the anarchy and convulsion of a civil war. If the army needed provision or ammunition, his promise of indemnity alone could procure a supply even from the most cautious; by his aid money could always be raised, and the name of Robert Morris on a note gave it a currency and credit, which neither the States nor the Confederation could command. His letters to different individuals in relation to the various exigencies of the Government are richly adorned with the moral beauty which this weight of character imparted. In one to General Schuyler, in the year 1781, on the occasion of a request to that officer to procure some supplies, he used the following characteristic language. 'I take it for granted, that you can upon your own credit and engagements raise this money; and for your reimbursement you may either take me as a public or a private man, for I pledge myself to repay you

with hard money wholly, if required, or part hard, part paper, if so you transact the business. *In short, I promise*, and you may rely that no consideration whatever shall induce me to make a promise that I am not able to perform.' That security was never known to fail. By the heroism to which we have alluded, we mean the perfect subordination of natural feeling to a stern sense of duty, which enabled him to withstand all the cavils of calumny and suspicion to which his official station exposed him, in the full reliance that the time would come, sooner or later, when all would acknowledge the propriety of his measures, and the purity of his motives. Mr. Morris passed through every variety of trial in this respect, without the slightest faltering of resolution, and on no occasion is it recorded of him, that for the purposes of temporary vindication he sacrificed a public benefit, however remote, or swerved from the line which his sense of official duty pointed out for him to follow. The judgment which his sagacity assured him was inevitable, has long since been pronounced. During his life, all the misrepresentations of his public character that had ever existed were dissipated, and every succeeding year, as it elicits some new memorial of his services, pays new and cordial honors to his memory. The closing hours of this illustrious man also were obscured by personal misfortune, and darkened by pecuniary difficulties induced by speculations, in which misplaced confidence and a sanguine temperament had led him to participate. But overwhelming as were those misfortunes, and dark as was the shade they cast upon his parting hours, their effect has, we have every reason to believe, been much misunderstood, or most unkindly misrepresented. The consciousness of unsullied honor and honest motives was a support that never failed him. The vigor of a mind like his, trained in the school of difficulty, and strengthened by continued probation in a public post of painful responsibility, was not subdued; and while he saw around him the wreck of hopes and expectations in which he had fondly indulged, he submitted to the blow with calm resignation, and found in the discharge of familiar and social duties enough to console and cheer the short remnant of his eventful life. Mr. Morris devoted the last years of his life to the selection and arrangement of his financial papers and letters, which remain a rich legacy to his posterity and his country.

There are other individuals connected with the history of

the Revolution in our sister State, to whose memory we regret our inability to pay the tribute, which is most justly due. The names of statesmen, such as Charles Thomson, James Wilson, and Thomas McKean; of gallant soldiers like Wayne, and Mifflin, and Potter, and Irvine, and Armstrong, are worthy of a more elaborate notice than we now have it in our power to bestow.

We owe some apology to the respectable association, the title of whose transactions we have placed at the head of this article, for having used their volume merely for our own convenience, without a specific reference to its contents. As there is nothing, however, among the papers now published, with the exception of a single memoir, which relates to the subject to which our observations have been directed, we may be excused for the unceremonious manner with which we have treated them, and for one suggestion in parting. We regret to find, by a comparison of this with the preceding volumes of the society's transactions, that so small a share of their attention has been bestowed on the revolutionary annals of their State, and may be permitted to hope that they will be induced to give another and more profitable direction to their inquiries. Much may be done by them towards illustrating the subjects to which we have cursorily referred. Materials may be collected, records preserved, and the testimony of the few survivors of our age of honor and legitimate renown may be perpetuated. The colonial history of our country, with which alone the society seem to have employed themselves, is a subject of little interest, except so far as it throws light upon the circumstances attending our national birth, and one about which the public may be excused for being very indifferent. We would not exchange one document illustrative of the era of the Revolution and of the ancestry from whom we have inherited our youthful liberties, for all the records of charter history that now slumber in appropriate oblivion. They are as worthless in comparison as was the commentary on the Psalms, which for so many ages obscured the treatise *de Republicâ*. The unhonored sleep in which the revolutionary progenitors of our Pennsylvanian brethren repose, will, we trust, ere long be broken; and if any thing that we have said shall have a tendency to produce that result, all the ends we have had in view will be attained.

ART. V.—*Defence of Mechanical Philosophy.*

Signs of the Times.—Article VII. in the Ninety-eighth Number of the Edinburgh Review, for June, 1829.

The article which we have just named raises the grave and solemn question, whether mankind are advancing or not, in moral and intellectual attainments? The writer expresses his opinion, with sufficient distinctness, in the following words; 'In whatever respects the pure moral nature, in true dignity of soul and character, we are, *perhaps*, inferior to most civilized ages.' If this be true, it is a truth of deep and melancholy import. But is it true? Well may we pause, and ponder the matter carefully. What are the petty controversies which agitate sects, parties, or nations, compared with one which concerns the destinies of the whole human race? When we essay to cast the world's horoscope, and interpret auguries for universal man, it becomes us to approach the task with diffidence. And we do approach it with unfeigned diffidence. We despair of being able to rise to the height of the theme, on which we are to speak. Yet we feel that good may come even from the attempt.

Are we, then, in fact, degenerating? Has the hand been moved backward on the dial-plate of Time? Has the human race, comet-like, after centuries of advancement, swept suddenly round its perihelion of intelligence, and commenced its retrogradation? The author of the article before us, as we have seen, expresses, though with a *perhaps*, his belief of the affirmative. Throughout the whole article, with the exception of the last paragraph or two, of which the complexion is somewhat more encouraging, he draws most cheerless conclusions from the course which human affairs are taking. If the writer do not, as he humanely assures us in the end, ultimately despair of the destinies of our ill-starred race, he does, nevertheless, perceive baleful influences hanging over us. Noxious ingredients are working in the caldron. He has detected the 'midnight hag' that threw them in, and her name is Mechanism. A more malevolent spirit, in his estimation, does not come from the hateful abodes. The fated inhabitants of this planet are now under her pernicious sway, and she is most industriously plotting against their weal. To countervail her malignant efforts, the author invokes a spirit of a character most

unlike the first. Her real name, as we shall see, is Mysticism, though this is not pronounced in the incantations.

Now we cannot help thinking, that this brilliant writer has conjured up phantoms for the sake of laying them again. At all events, we can see nothing but phantoms in what he opposes. In plain words, we deny the evil tendencies of Mechanism, and we doubt the good influences of his Mysticism. We cannot perceive that Mechanism, as such, has yet been the occasion of any injury to man. Some liberties, it is true, have been taken with Nature by this same presumptuous intermeddler. Where she denied us rivers, Mechanism has supplied them. Where she left our planet uncomfortably rough, Mechanism has applied the roller. Where her mountains have been found in the way, Mechanism has boldly levelled or cut through them. Even the ocean, by which she thought to have parted her quarrelsome children, Mechanism has encouraged them to step across. As if her earth were not good enough for wheels, Mechanism travels it upon iron pathways. Her ores, which she locked up in her secret vaults, Mechanism has dared to rifle and distribute. Still further encroachments are threatened. The terms uphill and downhill are to become obsolete. The horse is to be unharnessed, because he is too slow; and the ox is to be unyoked, because he is too weak. Machines are to perform all the drudgery of man, while he is to look on in self-complacent ease.

But where is the harm and danger of this? Why is every lover of the human race called on to plant himself in the path, and oppose these giant strides of Mechanism? Does this writer fear, that Nature will be dethroned, and Art set up in her place? Not exactly this. But he fears, if we rightly apprehend his meaning, that mind will become subjected to the laws of matter; that physical science will be built up on the ruins of our spiritual nature; that in our rage for machinery, we shall ourselves become machines. This we take to be the import of the following unusually plain passages; 'Not the external and physical alone is now managed by machinery, but the internal and spiritual also.'—'Philosophy, Science, Art, Literature, all depend upon Machinery.'—'Men are grown mechanical in head and in heart, as well as in hand.'—'Their whole efforts, attachments, opinions, turn on Mechanism, and are of a mechanical character.' These are pretty broad and sweeping assertions, and we might quote many equally positive, and

of the same style and meaning. In fact, the whole article is a series of repetitions of this leading idea, under various shapes; and this idea we propose to examine and controvert.

And, on the face of the matter, is it likely that mechanical ingenuity is suicidal in its efforts? Is it probable that the achievements of mind are fettering and enthralling mind? Must the proud creator of Mechanism stoop to its laws? By covering our earth with unnumbered comforts, accommodations, and delights, are we, in the words of this writer, descending from our 'true dignity of soul and character?' Setting existing facts aside, and reasoning in the abstract, what is the fair conclusion? To our view, directly the contrary. We maintain, that the more work we can compel inert matter to do for us, the better will it be for our minds, because the more time shall we have to attend to them. So long as our souls are doomed to inhabit bodies, these bodies, however gross and unworthy they may be deemed, must be taken care of. Men have animal wants, which must and will be gratified at all events; and their demands upon time are imperious and peremptory. A certain portion of labor, then, must be performed, expressly for the support of our bodies. But at the same time, as we have a higher and nobler nature, which must also be cared for, the necessary labor spent upon our bodies should be as much abridged as possible, in order to give us leisure for the concerns of this better nature. The smaller the number of human beings, and the less the time it requires, to supply the physical wants of the whole, the larger will be the number, and the more the time left free for nobler things. Accordingly, in the absolute perfection of machinery, were that attainable, we might realize the absolute perfection of mind. In other words, if machines could be so improved and multiplied, that all our corporeal necessities could be entirely gratified, without the intervention of human labor, there would be nothing to hinder all mankind from becoming philosophers, poets, and votaries of art. The whole time and thought of the whole human race could be given to inward culture, to spiritual advancement. But let us not be understood as intimating a belief, that such a state of things will ever exist. This we do not believe, nor is it necessary to our argument. It is enough, if there be an approach thereto. And this we do believe is constantly making. Every sober view of the past confirms us in this belief.

In the first ages of the world, when Mechanism was not yet

known, and human hands were the only instruments, the mind scarcely exhibited even the feeblest manifestations of its power. And the reason is obvious. As physical wants could only be supplied by the slow and tedious processes of hand-work, every one's attention was thereby completely absorbed. By degrees, however, the first rudiments of Mechanism made their appearance, and effected some simple abbreviations. A portion of leisure was the necessary result. One could now supply the wants of two, or each could supply his own in half the time previously required. And now it was, that mind began to develope its energies, and assert its empire over all other things. Leisure gave rise to thought, reflection, investigation; and these, in turn, produced new inventions and facilities. Mechanism grew by exercise. Machines became more numerous and more complete. The result was a still greater abridgment of labor. One could now do the work of ten, or each could do his own, in one tenth of the time before required. It is needless to follow the deduction farther. Every one knows that now, in many of the departments of labor, one can perform, by the help of machinery, the work of hundreds; or, supposing no division, each could perform his own in a hundredth part of the time before required. The consequence is, that there has never been a period, when so large a number of minds, in proportion to the whole, were left free to pursue the cultivation of the intellect. This is altogether the result of Mechanism, forcing inert matter to toil for man. And had it been reached gradually, commencing at the Creation, and continuing until now, the blessing would have been without alloy. But unhappily the progress has not been gradual. Of late, Mechanism has advanced *per saltum*, and the world has felt a temporary inconvenience from large numbers being thrown suddenly out of employment, while unprepared to embark in any thing else. But this evil must be from its nature temporary, while the advantage resulting from a release of so large a proportion of mankind from the thraldom of physical labor, will be as lasting as the mind. And hence it is, that we look with unmixed delight at the triumphant march of Mechanism. So far from enslaving, it has emancipated the mind, in the most glorious sense. From a ministering servant to matter, mind has become the powerful lord of matter. Having put myriads of wheels in motion by laws of its own discovering, it rests, like the Omnipotent Mind, of which it is the image, from its work of creation, and pronounces it good.

When we attempt to convey an idea of the infinite attributes of the Supreme Being, we point to the stupendous machinery of the universe. From the ineffable harmony and regularity, which pervade the whole vast system, we deduce the infinite power and intelligence of the Creating Mind. Now we can perceive no reason, why a similar course should not be pursued, if we would form correct conceptions of the dignity and glory of man. Look at the changes he has effected on the earth; so great, that could the first men revisit their mortal abodes, they could scarcely recognize the planet they once inhabited. Fitted up as it now is, with all the splendid furniture of civilization, it no more resembles the bleak, naked, incommodious earth, upon which our race commenced their improvements, than the magnificent palace resembles the low, mud-walled cottage. From the effect, turn your attention to the cause. Examine the endless varieties of machinery which man has created. Mark how all the complicated movements co-operate, in beautiful concert, to produce the desired result. Before we conclude that man's dignity is depreciated in the contrivance and use of this machinery, let us remember, that a precisely analogous course of reasoning must conduct us to the conclusion, that the act of Creation subtracted from the glory of the Creator; that the Infinite Mind, as it brooded from eternity over chaos, was more transcendently glorious, than when it returned from its six days' work, to contemplate a majestic world. We accordingly believe there is nothing irreverent in the assertion, that the finite mind in no respect approximates so nearly to a resemblance of the Infinite Mind, as in the subjugation of matter, through the aid of Mechanism, to fixed and beneficial laws,—to laws ordained by God, but discovered and applied by man.

If the views now presented be correct, it follows that the mechanical enterprise, with which our age is so alive, far from being unfavorable to our spiritual growth, is the one thing needful to furnish the freedom and leisure necessary for intellectual exercises,—to establish mankind in the *otium cum dignitate*, in a higher sense than even Cicero conceived it. But we may be referred, by way of refutation, to some of the renowned nations of antiquity, for which Mechanism effected little or nothing, but which, nevertheless, 'in true dignity of soul and character,' would be pronounced by the writer, whose views we are examining, superior to any of the present day.

Greece may be selected as the most prominent illustration. To Greece, then, let us look. But let it be borne in mind, that we are speaking of society in the mass, and that our doctrine is, that men must be released from the bondage of perpetual bodily toil, before they can make great spiritual attainments. And now the question is, how came Greece to achieve her high intellectual supremacy, when all her work was performed by hand? The answer, so far as it respects this discussion, is ready. The Greeks themselves did not toil. Every reader of their history knows, that labor, physical labor, was stigmatized as a disgrace. Their wants were supplied by levying tribute upon all other nations, and keeping slaves to perform their drudgery at home. Hence their leisure. Force did for them, what machinery does for us. But what was the condition of the surrounding world? It is explained in a word. All other men had to labor for them; and as these derived no helps from Mechanism, manual labor consumed their whole lives. And hence their spiritual acquisitions have left no trace in history.

Now if we are willing to recur to that barbarous principle, that one nation may purchase itself leisure, as the Greeks did, by aggressions upon the rest, and if all other nations can be persuaded to submit to the experiment, we may no doubt behold a people, spurning all mechanical improvements, and yet attaining to a surprising 'dignity of soul and character.' But so long as it continues to be settled by compact among the nations, that each shall produce the means of subsistence within itself, or else an equivalent to exchange with others; and so long as the balance of power continues to be so adjusted, as to prevent any one from living upon the rest through the force of superior numbers; we see not how we can avoid the conclusion, that that nation will make the greatest intellectual progress, in which the greatest number of labor-saving machines has been devised. It may not produce a Newton, Milton, or Shakspeare, but it will have a mass of thought, reflection, study, and contemplation perpetually at work all over its surface, and producing all the fruits of mental activity.

But this writer has not confined his warfare to the world as a whole. He has divided mankind into classes, and attacked them in detail. We shall try to follow him through his campaign. One remark, however, upon the name which he has given to the age. 'It is not an Heroical, Devotional, Philo-

sophical, or Moral Age, but, above all others, the Mechanical Age. It is the Age of Machinery, in every outward and *inward* sense of that word.' It may puzzle our readers as much as it does ourselves, to understand what is meant by the 'inward sense of machinery.' We are still more perplexed to understand how the following charge, which seems intended as unusually severe, can be construed by thinking men into any thing else than substantial eulogy. 'With its whole, undivided might, it [this age] forwards, teaches, and practises, *the great art of adapting means to ends.* Nothing is now done directly, or by hand; all is by rule, and calculated contrivance. For the simplest operation, some helps and accompaniments, some cunning, abbreviating process is in readiness.' Now take away the lurking sneer with which this is said, and we see not how it would be possible to crowd more praise into a smaller compass. It is no small part of wisdom, to possess 'the capacity of adapting means to ends.' What would the writer have us do? Pursue ends without regard to means?

But to the specific charges. And first, the world is full of literary, scientific, and religious associations. It is one of the mechanical features of the age, that large numbers of men are in the habit of combining together to effect those objects, which no individual could accomplish alone. Now we have been accustomed to consider this prevailing tendency, as one of the greatest modern improvements. In no propensity do we discover *a more prudent adaptation of means to ends.* We employ the mechanic lever to lift weights, which our unassisted strength could not lift. Why not employ the *social lever* in the same way? We are aware that some great and good men have expressed apprehensions, that the individual is in danger of being lost in the mass. But, for aught we can perceive, the individual is as free as ever, and his influence is even greater. Let him unite with those whose opinions agree with his, and he adds another unit to the sum. Let him stand out alone, and he must be transcendently gifted, if he do not lose his unit of influence. And as to his freedom, there is no reason why he should part with that, when he joins himself to a society. He may act with it so long as he approves its course. When he disapproves it he may attempt a change; and if he cannot prevail, he may separate, and, at worst, he will stand in the position in which he was placed before he joined the society.

The writer next indulges in pleasantry at the expense of Physical Science and its votaries. 'No Newton, by silent meditation, now discovers the system of the world from the falling of an apple; but some quite other than Newton stands in his Museum, his Scientific Institution, and, behind whole batteries of retorts, digesters, and galvanic piles, imperatively "interrogates nature;" who, however, shows no haste to answer.' If this mean any thing, it is to cast ridicule upon the universal practice of demonstrating and illustrating scientific truths by actual experiments. And in what school has the writer been brought up, if he really need to be reminded, that nature *does* answer, and hastily too, when thus interrogated? Again and again did she make haste to answer to Franklin, Priestley, Black, Lavoisier, Davy, and a host of other *imperative interrogators*. Where was this writer, when she was questioned as to the cause of lightning, the composition of water, the nature of heat, the mode of guarding against the fire-damp of the mine, and a hundred other equally momentous secrets?

The Mathematics are next subjected to our author's criticism. 'Its calculus, differential and integral, is little else than a more cunningly constructed arithmetical mill, where the factors being put in, are, as it were, ground into the true product under cover, and without other effort on our part, than steady turning of the hand. We have more mathematics, certainly, than ever; but less *mathesis*. Archimedes and Plato could not have read the *Mécanique Céleste;* but neither would the whole French Institute see aught in that saying, "God geometrizes!" but a sentimental rodomontade.' Now we are much in the same predicament with regard to this passage, as the French Institute with regard to that saying. We can see naught in it but 'rodomontade.' We learn from it, that Newton, Leibnitz, and Laplace, were nothing more than mill-wrights, and that their work was very easy. Indeed, the author had just before asserted, that to excel in the higher departments of mathematics, required no great natural gifts. Did we entertain our author's opinion of the facility with which a man, by setting himself patiently to work, could produce a treatise like the *Principia* and the *Mécanique Céleste*, we would certainly give up writing for the reviews; and we almost wonder that our author adheres to it, instead of placing his name by the side of those of Newton and Laplace.

As to the remark about *mathesis*, it is true that Plato had the honor of *saying* 'God geometrizes!' but to *prove* it, was reserved for the mechanicians above mentioned.

The next thrust is made at Metaphysics. And here we are informed that nobody has gone to work right. The whole world are now, and always have been, totally in the wrong. Even Locke, the great master, was at fault in the outset. But to avoid mis-statement, let the reviewer speak for himself. 'The whole doctrine of Locke is mechanical, in its aim and origin, in its method and results. It is a *mere* discussion concerning the origin of our consciousness, or ideas, or whatever else they may be called; a genetic history of what we see *in* the mind. But the *grand secrets* of Necessity and Free-will, of the mind's vital or non-vital dependence on matter, of our *mysterious relations* to Time and Space, to God, to the Universe, are not in the faintest degree touched on.' So because Locke confined his inquiries to what can be known, instead of meddling with 'grand secrets,' and 'mysterious relations,' he is a mere mechanic. Commend us to such mechanics. Give us Locke's Mechanism, and we will envy no man's Mysticism. Give us to know the 'origin of our ideas,' to comprehend the phenomena 'which we see in the mind,' and we will leave the question of the mind's essence to transcendental speculators. So of Necessity and Free-will; mechanical as the age is, we have heard of no machinery which can be brought to bear upon their explanation. And as to 'the mind's vital or non-vital dependence upon matter,' we are compelled to plead ignorance of what it means. We are bound, however, to suppose it has a deep meaning, since Locke did not get at the bottom of it. And should the writer give some of his leisure moments to the investigation, we hope the world may have the benefit of his researches. He may next find it profitable to undertake with Entities, Quiddities, Essences, and Sensible Forms, those stubborn secrets which did so puzzle some of the schoolmen. After brushing away these mists, there will still remain a rich field for discovery, in 'our mysterious relations to Time and Space.' And these relations being fully ascertained, the way will be cleared for a discussion of the celebrated question,—Whether spirits can pass from one point of space to another, without passing through the intervening space.

From Metaphysics, the reviewer passes to Politics. 'But

the trail of the serpent is over them all.' Mechanism has twisted his coils fast even about the slippery politician. 'No where,' complains the writer, 'is the deep, almost exclusive faith we have in Mechanism more visible, than in the politics of the time.' If this had been written within the last month or two, we should request to be informed, by what rare combination of mechanical powers the recent political changes have been effected in Europe. Truly, there is something in these vast movements, which rather looks as if mind were the mover. Mr. Canning predicted that the next war in Europe would be a war of opinions. That war is not yet commenced. But, to use the language of our author, the *revolutionary machine* is working with a tremendous *momentum*, such as the world never before witnessed. But that we may not mistake the writer on this subject, we quote his words. 'It is no longer the moral, religious, spiritual condition of the people that is our concern, but their physical, practical, economical condition, as regulated by public laws. Thus is the *body politic*, more than ever, worshipped and tended; but the *soul politic*, less than ever.' We are almost tempted to believe that this was intended particularly for the United States, where 'public laws' have left the 'religious and spiritual concerns' of men, exclusively to themselves and their God. But then the writer must, on his own principles, allow us due credit for managing to get along without that expensive and complicated piece of machinery, a *Church Establishment*. Time was, it must be confessed, when the 'soul politic' was more cared for by government, than it is any where at present. But this sort of care has always been found to require a great deal of machinery, and among the rest, the rack, the fagot, and the axe. The writer, therefore, in his anxiety for the *soul politic*, seems to be placed in a dilemma. He has such an antipathy to machinery in general,—and to that above mentioned, we will do him the justice to suppose, in particular,—that he would probably reject the only means, by which governments have hitherto been able to 'tend' the souls of their subjects.

Having proceeded thus far in his assault upon notions, which must be allowed to possess a very general currency, the writer proposes a new illustration, or, perhaps we should say, theory of our nature, which he supports with great vivacity and learning; and which, that we may do him no injustice, we state in his own words. 'To speak a little pedantically,

there is a science of Dynamics in man's fortunes and nature, as well as of Mechanics.' This would hardly carry perfect conviction to the mind, without the following lucid explanation. 'There is a science which treats of, and *practically* (?) addresses the primary, unmodified forces and energies of man, the *mysterious* springs of Love, and Fear, and Wonder, of Enthusiasm, Poetry, Religion, all of which have a truly *vital and infinite character*, as well as a science which practically addresses the finite, modified developements of these, when they take the shape of immediate "motives," as hope of reward or fear of punishment.' Having thus stated his theory, our author illustrates it by several examples, of which we shall notice one or two. Among others, the French Revolution,—not the recent glorious one,—is drawn in. 'The French Revolution had something higher in it than cheap bread and a *habeas corpus* act. Here too, was an Idea; a Dynamic, not a Mechanic force. It was a struggle, though a blind, and at last an insane one, for the infinite, divine nature of Right, of Freedom, of Country.' We do not exactly understand what is meant by 'a struggle for the infinite, divine nature of Country.' If by saying, that 'cheap bread and a *habeas corpus* act' were not the motives of the Revolution, the author mean that neither the wants of the populace, oppressed by misgovernment, nor the political theories of the Philosophers occasioned this explosion, we can only say that he denies it to have been produced by the action of those causes, to one or both of which it is universally ascribed.

Another example, scarcely less unfortunate, is the Christian Religion. We desire always to approach this subject with the most profound reverence. And when we are told by the reviewer, that 'the Christian Religion, under every theory of it, in the believing or the *unbelieving* mind, is the crowning glory, or rather the life and soul of our whole modern culture,'—we most cordially concur in what we can understand of the panegyric. Of religion in the believing mind, too much cannot be said. How religion in the *unbelieving* mind can be a crowning glory, we are at loss to conceive. But our chief concern is with the assertion, that the Christian Religion has been promulgated 'Dynamically, and not Mechanically.' This is in direct conflict with our historical information. It seems to us, that there has been, unfortunately, altogether too much machinery employed in the propagation of Christianity. In

the beginning, we know that it was not so. Then the simple but powerful 'preaching of the word' was sufficient. But afterwards, external helps were employed in such a degree, as to suggest to the sceptical historian, Gibbon, the idea of accounting for the establishment of Christianity, exclusively by human means.

We can notice but a few more complaints of this dissatisfied writer, and those briefly. He is very much scandalized, that 'we should have our little theories on all human and divine things,' and particularly that 'even Poetry is no longer without a scientific exposition.' But wherefore should it be? Does the poet merely rave? Is his mind lawless in its wanderings? Or does it, according to Dr. Channing, obey higher laws than it transgresses? If so, we can perceive no harm or absurdity in a 'scientific exposition.' Such an one has been given by the eloquent author just mentioned, in his remarks on the poetry of Milton; and a passage of more transcendent beauty is not to be found in our mother tongue.

Another cause of complaint with our author is, that 'our first question with regard to any object is not, *What is it?* but *How is it?*' This is equivalent to saying, that it is the fashion of the present age not to analyze; and a suggestion wider of the fact could not easily be made. Every one knows that Chemistry, which more than any other science is the offspring and growth of this age, is one perpetual reiteration of the question, *What is it?* The author would find it difficult to name a substance to which Chemistry has not put this question, and received a satisfactory answer. But he would have us go still further, and waste our investigating energies upon fruitless inquiries into the essence of matter and mind. We know that there has been a strong propensity among men to press their discoveries to this verge; and that even Newton was so far beguiled by his 'wish to know,' as to speculate upon the nature of the cause of gravitation, after he had ascertained its laws. But we had supposed, that mankind were now generally agreed as to the inutility of thus invading the Deity's inscrutable mysteries. If the clear teachings of Lord Bacon on this subject were not sufficient, one would think that the practical *reductio ad absurdum* exhibited in the incompatible, yet equally plausible hypotheses of Berkeley and Hobbes, would be sufficient. One resolves every thing into matter, the other resolves every thing into mind; while the only satis-

factory proposition, which both conclusively demonstrate is, that the resolution of such questions is beyond the capability of the human mind. Reason affords no clue to guide those who plunge into the labyrinths of mystic speculation.

On the whole, we have no wish to disguise the feeling of strong dissatisfaction, excited in us, by the article under consideration. We consider its tendency injurious, and its reasoning unsound. That it has some eloquent passages must be admitted, but when we hear distinguished philosophers spoken of as 'logic-mills,'—the religion of the age as 'a working for wages,'—our Bible societies as 'supported by fomenting of vanities, by puffing, intrigue, and chicane,'—and all descriptions of men 'from the cartwright up to the code-maker,' as mere 'mechanists;' when we further hear 'the grand secrets of necessity and free-will,'—'our mysterious relations to time and space,'—and 'the deep, infinite harmonies of nature and man's soul,'—brought repeatedly forward under the most varied forms of statement, as the legitimate objects of philosophical inquiry, and the most illustrious of the living and the dead, men whom we never think of but as benefactors of our race, made the objects of satire and ridicule, because they have preferred the *terra firma* of mechanical philosophy to the unstable quagmire of mystic conjecture;—we find it difficult not to regard the Essay rather as an effort of paradoxical ingenuity,—the sporting of an adventurous imagination with settled opinions,—than as a serious inquiry after truth.

Indeed the writer himself seems to think, towards the end, that he has gone too far; and deems it prudent, in contradiction, as it seems to us, to the assertion first quoted, as well as to the whole tenor of the article, to insert the following *saving clause:*—'It seems a well ascertained fact, that in all times, reckoning even from those of the Heraclides and Pelasgi, *the happiness and greatness of mankind at large, have been continually progressive.*' This is one of the few assertions in the article, in which we altogether agree with the author. We do entertain an unfaltering belief in the permanent and continued improvement of the human race, and we consider no small portion of it, whether in relation to the body or the mind, as the result of mechanical invention. It is true, that the progress has not always been regular and constant. In happy times it has been so rapid, as to fill the benevolent with inexpressible joy. But anon, clouds have gathered over the de-

lightful prospect,—evil influences, but not mechanical, have operated,—evil times have succeeded,—and human nature has undergone a disastrous eclipse. But it has been only an eclipse, not an extinguishment of light. And frequent as these alternations have been, mankind are found to have been constant gainers. The flood has always been greater than the ebb. Each great billow of time has left men further onward than its predecessor. This could be proved, if necessary, by a thousand references. Darkness has indeed given a name to some ages, but light on the whole has immensely preponderated; and it is this conviction which nerves the heart and invigorates the arm of philanthropy. They who feel this divine impulse, know that the labors of kindred spirits in past ages have not been in vain. They see Atlantis, Utopia, and the Isles of the Blest, nearer than those who first descried them. These imaginary abodes of pure and happy beings, which have been conceived by the most ardent lovers of their kind, we delight to contemplate; for we regard them as types and shadows of a higher and better condition of human nature, towards which we are surely though slowly tending.

But let us not be misunderstood. The condition we speak of, is not one of perfection. This we neither believe in, nor hope for. Supposing it possible in the nature of things, it would be any thing but desirable. For with nothing left to achieve nor gain, existence would become empty and vapid. But if, with this explanation, our views should pass for visionary, we cannot help it. We cannot go back to the origin of mankind and trace them down to the present time, without believing it to be a part of the providence of God, that his creatures should be perpetually advancing. The first men must have been profoundly ignorant, except so far as the Supreme Being communicated with them directly. But with them commenced a series of inventions and discoveries, which have been going on, up to the present moment. Every day has beheld some addition to the general stock of information. When the exigency of the times has required a new truth to be revealed, it has been revealed. Men gifted beyond the ordinary lot, have been raised up for the purpose; witness Cadmus, Socrates, and the other sages of Greece, Cicero and the other sages of Rome, Columbus, Galileo, Bacon, Newton, and the other giant spirits of modern times. We cannot regard it as an abuse of language to call such men inspired, that is, pre-

eminently endowed beyond all their contemporaries, and moved by the invisible agency of God, to enlighten the world on subjects, which had never till they spoke, occupied the minds of men. In other words, we believe that the appearance of such men, at the exact times when all things were ready for the disclosures they were to make, was not the result of accident, but the work of an overruling Providence. And if such has been the beneficent operation of Providence upon the minds of men in all past times,—if whenever a revelation was needed, He has communicated it, and in the exact measure in which it was needed,—how can we, without irreverence, adopt any other conclusion, than that He, who changeth not, will still continue, through all future time, to make known through gifted men, as fast as the world is prepared to receive them, new truths from His exhaustless store?

ART. VI.—*The Cherokee Case.*

1. *Opinion of the Supreme Court of the United States on an Application made by the Cherokee Indians for a Writ of Injunction against the State of Georgia, delivered by* Mr. Chief Justice MARSHALL, *at the January Term held at Washington*, 1831.
2. *Message from the President of the United States in compliance with a Resolution of the Senate, relative to the execution of the Act of March* 30, 1802, *to regulate Trade and Intercourse with the Indian Tribes, and to preserve Peace on the Frontiers, transmitted to the Senate on the 22d of February*, 1831.

The proceedings of the Supreme Court of the United States, upon the application made by the Cherokee Indians for a writ of injunction against the State of Georgia, excited a deep and general interest throughout the country. This was naturally to be expected from the novelty of the case, the dignity of the parties, and the high importance of the principles in question. The scene wore in some degree the imposing majesty of those ancient debates in which the great father of Roman eloquence sustained before the Senate the rights of allied and dependent, but still sovereign princes, who had found themselves compelled to seek for protection and redress

from the justice of the mighty Republic. We may add, that the high and well-earned reputation of the Counsel retained by the Indians, added another point of resemblance to the parallel. In proportion to the interest felt in the subject, was the anxiety to learn the opinion of the Court, which was given by the Chief Justice, on the last day of the January term, and was shortly after published in the Cherokee Phœnix. We propose in the present article to submit to our readers a few observations upon this opinion; and shall afterwards examine very briefly the defence of the policy of the Executive Department of the Government in regard to the Indians, which is contained in the message transmitted by the President to the Senate on the 22d of February, in answer to a call for information on that subject. The opinion of the Court,—which, on account of its great importance, we copy entire,—is as follows.

'*The Cherokee Nation* vs. *The State of Georgia. January Term*, 1831.

'Opinion of the Supreme Court of the United States, delivered by Mr. Chief Justice Marshall, on a motion of the Cherokee nation for a writ of injunction and subpœna against the State of Georgia.

'This bill is brought by the Cherokee nation, praying an injunction to restrain the State of Georgia from the execution of certain laws of that State, which, as alleged, go directly to annihilate the Cherokees as a political society, and to seize, for the use of Georgia, the lands of the nation which have been assured to them by the United States in solemn treaties repeatedly made and still in force.

'If Courts were permitted to indulge their sympathies, a case better calculated to excite them can scarcely be imagined. A people once numerous, powerful, and truly independent; found by our ancestors in the quiet and uncontrolled possession of an ample domain, gradually sinking beneath our superior policy, our arts, and our arms, have yielded their lands by successive treaties, each of which contains a solemn guaranty of the residue, until they retain no more of their former extensive territory than is necessary to their comfortable subsistence. To preserve this remnant, the present application is made.

'Before we can look into the merits of the case, a preliminary inquiry presents itself. Has this Court jurisdiction of the case?

'The third article of the Constitution describes the extent of the judicial power. The second section closes an enumeration

of the cases to which it is extended, with "controversies" "between a State, or the citizens thereof, and foreign States, citizens or subjects." A subsequent clause of the same gives the Supreme Court original jurisdiction in all cases in which a State shall be a party. The party defendant may then unquestionably be such in this court. May the plaintiff sue in it? Is the Cherokee nation a foreign State, in the sense in which that term is used in the Constitution?

'The Counsel for the plaintiffs have maintained the affirmative of this proposition with great earnestness and ability. So much of the argument as was intended to prove the character of the Cherokees as a State, as a distinct political society, separated from others, capable of managing its own affairs, and governing itself, has, in the opinion of a majority of the judges, been completely successful. They have been uniformly treated as a State, from the settlement of our country. The numerous treaties made with them by the United States, recognise them as a people capable of maintaining the relations of peace and war, of being responsible in their political character for any violation of their engagements, or for any aggression committed on the citizens of the United States by any individual of their community. Laws have been enacted in the spirit of these treaties. The acts of our Government plainly recognise the Cherokee nation as a State, and the Courts are bound by those acts.

'A question of much more difficulty remains. Do the Cherokees constitute a foreign State in the sense of the Constitution?

'Their Counsel have shown conclusively that they are not a State of the Union, and insisted that individually they are aliens, not owing allegiance to the United States. An aggregate of aliens composing a State, must, they say, be a foreign State. Each individual being foreign, the whole must be foreign.

'This argument is imposing, but we must examine it more closely before we yield to it. The condition of the Indians in relation to the United States is perhaps unlike that of any other two people in existence. In the general, nations not owing a common allegiance, are foreign to each other. The term foreign nations is, with strict propriety, applicable by either to the other. But the relation of the Indians to the United States is marked by peculiar and cardinal distinctions, which exist no where else.

'The Indian territory is admitted to compose a part of the United States. In all our maps, geographical treatises, histories and laws, it is so considered. In all our intercourse with foreign nations, in our commercial regulations, in any attempt at intercourse between Indians and foreign nations, they are considered as within the jurisdictional limits of the United States, subject to many of those restraints which are imposed upon our own citi-

zens. They acknowledge themselves in their treaties to be under the protection of the United States: they admit that the United States have the sole and exclusive right of regulating the trade with them, and of managing all their affairs, as they think proper, and the Cherokees in particular were allowed by the treaty of Hopewell, which preceded the Constitution, "to send a deputy of their choice, whenever they think fit, to Congress." Treaties were made with some tribes by the State of New York, under a then unsettled construction of the Confederation, by which they ceded all their lands to the State, taking back a limited grant to themselves, in which they admit their dependence.

'Though the Indians are acknowledged to have an unquestionable and heretofore unquestioned right to the lands they occupy, until that right shall be extinguished by a voluntary cession to our Government, yet it may well be doubted, whether those tribes which reside within the acknowledged boundaries of the United States can with strict accuracy be denominated foreign nations. They may more correctly perhaps be denominated domestic dependent nations. They occupy a territory to which we assert a title independent of their will, which must take effect in point of possession when their right of possession ceases. Meanwhile they are in a state of pupilage. Their relation to the United States resembles that of a ward to his guardian. They look to our Government for protection, rely upon its power, appeal to it for relief to their wants, and address the President as their Great Father. They and their country are considered by foreign nations as well as by ourselves, as being so completely under the sovereignty and dominion of the United States, that any attempt to acquire their lands, or to form a political connexion with them, would be considered by all as an invasion of our territory, and an act of hostility.

'These considerations go far to support the opinion, that the framers of our Constitution had not the Indian tribes in view, when they opened the courts of the Union to controversies between a State or the citizens thereof, and foreign States.

'In considering this subject, the habits and usages of the Indians, in their intercourse with their white neighbors, ought not to be entirely disregarded. At the time the Constitution was framed, the idea of appealing to an American Court of justice for an assertion of right or a redress of wrongs had perhaps never entered the mind of an Indian or of his tribe. Their appeal was to the tomahawk, or to the Government. This was well understood by the statesmen who framed the Constitution of the United States, and might furnish some reason for omitting to enumerate them among the parties who might sue in the Courts of the Union. Be this as it may, the peculiar relations between the

United States and the Indians occupying our territory are such, that we should feel much difficulty in considering them as designated by the term foreign State, were there no other part of the Constitution which might shed light on the meaning of these words.

'But we think in construing them, considerable aid is furnished by that clause in the eighth section of the third article, which empowers Congress to "regulate commerce with foreign nations, among the several States, and with the Indian tribes."

'In this clause, they are as clearly contra-distinguished by a name appropriate to themselves, from foreign nations, as from the several States composing the Union. They are designated by a distinct appellation, and as this appellation can be applied to neither of the others, neither can the appellation distinguishing either of the others be in a construction applied to them. The objects to which the power of regulating commerce might be directed, are divided into three distinct classes,—foreign nations, the several States, and Indian tribes. When framing this article, the Convention considered them as entirely distinct. We cannot assume that the distinction was lost in framing a subsequent article, unless there be something in its language to authorize the assumption.

'The counsel for the plaintiffs contend, that the words "Indian tribes" were introduced into the article empowering Congress to regulate commerce, for the purpose of removing those doubts in which the management of Indian affairs was involved by the language of the ninth article of the Confederation. Intending to give the whole power of managing those affairs to the Government about to be instituted, the Convention confined it explicitly, and omitted those qualifications which embarrassed the exercise of it as granted in the Confederation. This may be admitted, without weakening the construction which has been intimated. Had the Indian tribes been foreign nations in the view of the Convention, this exclusive power of regulating intercourse with them might have been, and most probably would have been specifically given, in language contra-distinguishing them from foreign nations. Congress might have been empowered "to regulate commerce with foreign nations, including the Indian tribes, and among the several States." This language would have suggested itself to statesmen who considered the Indian tribes as foreign nations, and were yet desirous of mentioning them particularly.

'It has been also said, that the same words have not necessarily the same meaning attached to them when found in different parts of the same instrument. Their meaning is controlled by the context. This is undoubtedly true. In common language, the same word has various meanings, and the peculiar sense in

which it is used in any sentence, is to be determined by the context. This may not be equally true with respect to proper names. Foreign nations is a general term, the application of which to Indian tribes, when used in the American Constitution, is at best extremely questionable. In one article, in which a power is given to be exercised in regard to foreign nations generally, and to the Indian tribes particularly, they are mentioned as separate, in terms clearly contra-distinguishing them from each other. We perceive plainly, that the Constitution in this article does not comprehend the Indian tribes in the general term,—foreign nations; not, we presume, because a tribe may not be a nation, but because it is not foreign to the United States. When afterwards the term foreign State is introduced, we cannot impute to the Convention the intention to desert its former meaning and to comprehend Indian tribes within it, unless the context forces that construction on us. We find nothing in the context, and nothing in the subject of the article, which leads to it.

'The Court has bestowed its best attention on this question, and after mature deliberation, the majority is of opinion, that an Indian tribe or nation within the United States is not a foreign State in the sense of the Constitution, and cannot maintain an action in the Courts of the United States.

'A serious additional objection exists to the jurisdiction of the Court. Is the matter of the bill the proper subject for judicial inquiry and decision? It seeks to restrain a State from a forcible exercise of legislative power over a neighboring people asserting their independence, their right to which the State denies. On several of the matters alluded to in the bill, for example, on the laws making it criminal to exercise the usual powers of self-government in their own country by the Cherokee nation, this Court cannot interpose, at least in the form in which those matters are presented. That part of the bill which respects the lands occupied by the Indians, and prays the aid of the Court to protect their possessions, may be more doubtful. The mere question of right might, perhaps, be decided by this Court in a proper case with proper parties. But the Court is asked to do more than decide on the title. The bill requires us to control the legislation of Georgia, and to restrain the execution of its physical force. The propriety of such an interposition by the Court may be well questioned. It savors too much of exercise of political power, to be within the province of the Judicial Department. But the opinion on the point respecting parties makes it unnecessary to decide this question.

'If it be true that the Cherokee nation have rights, this is not the tribunal in which those rights are to be asserted. If it be true that wrongs have been inflicted, and that still greater are to

be apprehended, this is not the tribunal which can redress the past or prevent the future.

'The motion for an injunction is denied.'

Some political writers who sustain the pretensions of the State of Georgia, have affected to represent this opinion as a decision in her favor and that of the Executive upon the merits of the case. It must be obvious, however, to every reader, that this representation is wholly incorrect. The Court, on the contrary, intimate very strongly that their opinion on the merits of the case is in favor of the Indians. 'If Courts were permitted to indulge their sympathies, a case better calculated to excite them can scarcely be imagined. A people once numerous, powerful, and truly independent; found by our ancestors in the quiet and uncontrolled possession of an ample domain, gradually sinking beneath our superior policy, our arts and our arms, have yielded their lands by successive treaties, *each of which contains a solemn guaranty of the remainder*, until they retain no more of their former extensive territory, than is necessary to their comfortable subsistence. *To preserve this remnant, the present application is made.*' Again. '*The Indians are acknowledged to have an unquestionable, and, heretofore, unquestioned right to the lands they occupy, until that right shall be extinguished by a voluntary cession to the Government.*' If we are not mistaken in the import of language, which appears to be sufficiently intelligible, these phrases convey a very strong intimation, that the opinion of the Court on the merits of the case is in favor of the Cherokees; and as the Chief Justice also intimates, that the Court would have it in their power to take cognizance of the case if brought in another form, we presume that the necessary measures will be forthwith adopted, for ascertaining this opinion in a still more direct and positive way.

But whatever may be the judgment of the Court upon the merits of the case when it shall be given, it is certain, as we have remarked, that the case was not decided on its merits at the late trial. It went off upon a point of mere form. The Cherokees came into Court describing themselves as a *foreign State*, and claiming to be heard as such. The Court decided that they were not a *foreign State* within the meaning of the term as used in the Constitution, and that they were, consequently, not entitled to a hearing as such. The Court intimated, that the bill filed by the Cherokees was in other

respects defective in form, but the point just mentioned was the one upon which the decision was given.

Although it is certainly much to be regretted, that a case of this importance should have been decided upon any other principle than that of doing substantial justice between the parties, we were, nevertheless, by no means unprepared for this result, or very greatly disappointed when it happened. The forms of proceedings at law are so complicated and uncertain, that when a case is at all out of the common routine of practice, it is a matter of chance rather than skill, whether the shape in which it is first presented, be or be not unexceptionable. This particular case was one of very great difficulty; the Counsel had no precedents directly in point to guide them, and notwithstanding their acknowledged ability and diligence, it was perhaps hardly to be expected that they should completely succeed at the first trial. We had, in fact, anticipated some of the objections made by the Court to the form of the bill. We greatly doubted, in particular, whether the attempt to restrain a State by injunction, from enacting laws, for whatever purpose, would be within the competence of the Federal Courts. The Court, without directly deciding this point, distinctly intimate, that if they had had occasion to do so, they should have decided it in the negative. 'The bill,' says the Chief Justice, 'requires us to control the legislation of Georgia, and to restrain the *execution* (?) of its physical force. The propriety of such an interposition by the Court may well be questioned. It savors too much of exercise of political power, to be within the province of the Judicial department. But the opinion on the other point makes it unnecessary to decide this question.'

We were, therefore, prepared to hear, without much disappointment, that the case had gone off upon a point of mere form; but we confess that we were not prepared for the precise objection that was taken by the Court. With all our respect for the ability and learning of the members of this tribunal, and with every disposition to render the fullest justice to their integrity and independence, we are compelled to say, that this objection does not appear to us to be tenable. We are bound, perhaps, to suppose, that in differing from so high an authority, we must be mistaken. But as the case turns not on recondite points of law learning, but on the construction of a public document, which, as all admit, must be interpreted

without regard to technical niceties by the rules of plain common sense, we shall venture to state very briefly the grounds of our opinion. We do this, not for the purpose of creating discontent at the judgment of the Court, in which all the parties interested, and the people at large, will acquiesce with cheerfulness, but of lending such feeble aid as may be in our power, in the illustration of a most curious and important question of constitutional and international law.

The ground on which the case was decided, as our readers will perceive on recurring to the opinion of the Court, is simply this. The Cherokees come into Court, describing themselves as a foreign State, and claiming to be heard as such. The Court decide, for reasons alleged in the opinion, and without prejudging in any way the merits of the case, that they are not a foreign State, within the meaning of that phrase as used in the Constitution, and cannot of course be heard in that quality. We proceed to examine the validity of these reasons.

We may remark, in the first place, that the Court admit very fully in the outset, that the Cherokees are a State;—that is, a distinct political society, recognised as such by the Government. The language of the opinion on this point is explicit.

'So much of the argument of the Counsel for the plaintiffs, as was intended to prove the character of the Cherokees as a State, as a distinct political society, separated from others, capable of managing its own affairs, and governing itself, has, in the opinion of a majority of the Judges, been completely successful. They have been uniformly treated as a State, from the settlement of the country. The numerous treaties made with them, by the United States, recognise them as a people capable of maintaining the relations of peace and war, of being responsible in their political character for any violation of their engagements, or for any aggression committed on the citizens of the United States, by any individual of their community. Laws have been enacted in the spirit of these treaties. *The acts of our Government plainly recognise the Cherokees as a State, and the Courts are bound by these acts.*'

The Cherokees are thus distinctly admitted to be a State; that is, a distinct political society. In making this admission, the Court appear to us to have given up in advance the only ground upon which it could be maintained, that they are not

a *foreign* State. The circumstances which are afterwards mentioned as tending to show that they are not foreigners, and particularly, the relation of pupilage, in which they are supposed to stand to the United States, would seem to prove,—if they prove any thing to the present purpose,—that they are not a distinct political society. This point, though it could not be made out, might, we think, be argued with some plausibility; but this point is, as we have seen, conceded in advance by the Court. The Cherokees are admitted, in the most explicit terms, to be a State.

How then, can it be denied that they are a foreign State? The epithet *foreign* means nothing more in reference to States, than *other*, in reference to individuals. A State which is not the United States, or any one of them, is necessarily and *ex vi termini* a foreign State, just as an individual, who is not myself, is necessarily another person. There is no possible middle term between these two categories. The Court, in substance, admit this. 'In the general,' says the Chief Justice, 'nations, not owing a common allegiance, are foreign to each other. The term foreign is with strict propriety applicable by either to the other.' The Court do not appear to have felt, that the term *foreign* is not only applicable with strict propriety by either of two nations, not owing a common allegiance, to the other, but that this is the only idea implied in the term; and that for either of two nations so situated, to refuse that title to the other, would involve the same absurdity, as for the individual A, to deny that his neighbors B, C, and D, were other persons. But the remark of the Court, though it does not indicate the full strength of the case, is quite sufficient for our purpose.

It is admitted then, by the Court, that the Cherokees are a State; and that 'in the general,' that is, according to the ordinary use of language, they are a foreign State. But it is an acknowledged principle, that the Constitution is to be construed according to the ordinary use of language. Such being the case, the necessary conclusion seems to be, that the Cherokees are a foreign State, within the meaning of the Constitution.

This is denied by the Court on two grounds. First, because 'the relation of the Indians to the United States is marked by peculiar and cardinal distinctions, which exist no where else, and which render it doubtful, whether they can, with strict accuracy, be denominated foreign nations;' and secondly,

because in the clause of the Constitution, which authorizes Congress to regulate commerce, a distinction is expressly taken between foreign nations and Indian tribes. 'Congress shall have power to regulate commerce with foreign nations, among the States, and with the Indian tribes.'

As respects the 'peculiar and cardinal distinctions,' belonging to the relation between the Indians and the United States, we repeat what we have intimated above, that the circumstances here alluded to prove,—if they affect the argument at all,—not that the Indians are not foreigners, but that they are not a State. That their territory is surrounded on all sides by ours; that we claim a right in fee in their lands, and only acknowledge in them a right of occupancy; that we should regard it as an act of hostility in any other nation to acquire their lands, or attempt to form a political connexion with them; that they look to our Government for protection, and address the President as their Great Father; that their relation to the United States resembles that of a ward to his guardian;—these are all circumstances, which, so far as they bear upon the question, tend to show, that these people are not sovereign; that they are not a *State*. Such, accordingly, is the view taken of the matter, in the late opinion of the Convention of the Georgia Judges in the case of Tassel. It is there argued, that for reasons substantially the same with those here stated by the Court, the Cherokees are not a *sovereign State*. It does not seem to have occurred to the Georgia Judges, who were yet not remiss in seeking for arguments in defence of the pretensions of the State, that if the Cherokees were a State, it would be possible to deny them the character of a foreign State. The ground taken by the Georgia Judges, although we deem it untenable, seems to us more plausible than the one taken by the Supreme Court. But it is unnecessary for our present purpose to inquire, how far the peculiar relations existing between the United States and the Indians diminish the right of the latter to be styled and treated as a sovereign State, because this right is distinctly admitted by the Court. This being the case, their right to the qualification of *foreign*, with all its incidents, follows of course.

The peculiar character of the relations between the Indians and the United States, although it might with some plausibility be supposed to impair their claim to be considered a sovereign State, has therefore no tendency to show, that being by

acknowledgment a sovereign State, they are not *foreign*. They are clearly then within the letter of the Constitution. Are they also within its spirit and meaning, or is there something in the nature of their relations, as described by the Court, which tends to show, that, although the Indians come within the general description of foreigners, it was not intended by the framers of the Constitution, that they should enjoy the advantages secured to foreigners by the clause under consideration? On our view of the subject, the case is directly the reverse. The relation between the Indians and the United States, created by the circumstances mentioned in the opinion of the Court, is much more close than that which exists between the United States and any other foreign nation. A State, of which the territory is wholly surrounded by ours,—*enclavé*, in the French phrase, within our dominions,—which is connected by various political and personal relations of the most intimate character with the General and State Governments, and with the individual citizens, is of course much more likely to have occasion to take advantage of the faculty of suing in our courts, than those which are situated at a distance, and maintain with us much less intimate relations. Is it probable, then, that the framers of the Constitution, when they inserted a clause which gives to foreign States the right of suing in the Federal Court, intended to exclude those foreign States which would probably have the most frequent occasion to use it, and include those only which would have the least? We think not.

Again; if foreign States were not allowed to sue in the Federal Courts, they would be obliged to sue in those of the States; and the reason why the Constitution secures to them the privilege of suing in the Federal Courts is, that the Federal Government is the only representative of the nation for all its foreign relations. The administration of justice in the State Courts might not be uniform throughout the country, and it was proper that foreigners, in dealing with different individuals belonging to the same nation, should have the benefit of a uniform legislation. But this reason operates with as much force in regard to the Indians as to any other foreigners; and the fact, that the relations with them were committed exclusively to the management of the General Government, is a sufficient proof that such was the opinion of the framers of the Constitution. Indeed, the reason of the case in this view of it, as in the other, is not only equally strong, but much stronger

in regard to the Indians, than to any other foreigners. It might certainly have been expected, as has in fact happened, that the Indians might have other reasons for preferring to sue in the Federal, rather than the State Courts, beside the danger of a want of uniformity in the judgments of the latter; and it would have been particularly unjust and unreasonable not to extend to the class of foreigners to whom it was on every account more especially necessary, the appropriate remedy for the defects of these tribunals.

The Court finally remark, that 'At the time when the Constitution was framed, the idea of appealing to an American court of justice for an assertion of right or a redress of wrong, had perhaps never entered the mind of an Indian or of his tribe. Their appeal was to the tomahawk or to the Government. This was well understood by the statesmen who framed the Constitution of the United States, and might furnish some reason for omitting to enumerate them among the parties who might sue in the courts of the United States.' But although the state of civilization among the Indians at the time when the Constitution was framed, might have furnished a plausible reason for the omission of them in this enumeration, had they in fact been omitted, we cannot think that it furnishes any reason whatever for refusing to allow them the benefit of a clause, which is admitted to include them according to the ordinary and usual acceptation of the terms. It was certainly not the intention of the framers of the Constitution to give the right of suing in the Federal Courts to such foreign nations only as happened at that time to be in existence, or in a condition to use it; but to establish a rule, that should operate in favor of all foreign nations forever after. At the time when the Constitution was framed, the Spanish Colonies on our continent were not in a condition to take the benefit of this clause. It did not at that time enter into the minds of any of them, to think of claiming it; but it is not the less certain, that they now enjoy it as fully as if they were specified by name in the Constitution.

We cannot, therefore, concur with the Court in the general reasoning by which they attempt to show that the Indians are not to be considered as foreign States, for the purpose of suing in the Federal Courts. The argument drawn from the clause of the Constitution which authorizes Congress to regulate commerce, is more plausible, but to our minds not more decisive.

A distinction is there taken between foreign nations and the Indian tribes; and if there were no particular reason for making such a distinction in this clause, it would be natural to conclude that the phrase, foreign nations, is used throughout the Constitution in such a sense as to exclude the Indians. But the fact is, as the Court themselves admit, that there was a particular reason for making a distinction in this clause between foreign nations and the Indians, which does not hold in regard to other parts of the Constitution. The ninth article of the old Confederation had left it in some degree uncertain, whether the management of the relations with the Indians belonged to the General Government, or to the States; and in order to avoid any future misconstruction, it was important that they should be mentioned by name in the article conferring the authority for this purpose. On reference to the Journals of the Convention, we find that the clause, as originally reported, stood as follows: 'Congress shall have power to regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the several States.' The words, *and with the Indian tribes*, were afterwards added by way of additional security, in an amendment, and the form in which they were introduced shows at once why they were placed at the end rather than the middle of the clause. But the tenor of this clause and of the Constitution in all its parts, entirely precludes the idea, that the Indians were considered in any other light than as foreigners. Had they been regarded as in any sense subject to or dependent upon the United States, the power of governing them to the same extent must have been conferred on the General Government by a special clause. But the Constitution gives to the General Government no authority in regard to them, excepting such as it gives in regard to all foreigners. Under the authority to treat with foreign nations, the President has always treated with the Indians; under the clause which prohibits the States from treating with foreigners, the States have always abstained from treating with the Indians. And the power of regulating commerce with them,—the only one specifically conferred by the Constitution,—is also given in regard to all other foreigners. This consideration alone, if there were no other, affords sufficient evidence to satisfy our minds, that the Indians are throughout the Constitution recognised and treated as foreign States.

We will not, however, enlarge any farther on this point. Convinced as we are, that the opinion of the Court upon it is

erroneous, and regretting as we do, that the error into which we suppose them to have fallen, should have operated as a delay, and, to a certain extent, denial of justice in a most important and interesting case, we are yet disposed, as we have already remarked, to acquit the Court entirely of all neglect, sinister intention, or undue bias, and to acquiesce with perfect cheerfulness in their decision. The case will no doubt be presented to them again in a form in which they will be able to take cognizance of it, and in which it may be tried upon its merits. Under such circumstances, we cannot permit ourselves to entertain a doubt of the issue.

The merits of this case have been fully discussed on both sides of the question in previous numbers of this journal, and as they are not touched upon in the opinion of the Court, we shall not, on this occasion, enter upon them in detail. We cannot, however, refrain from a very few cursory observations upon the statement made of them in a Message from the President to the Senate of the United States, of which we have placed the title at the head of this article.

This Message was transmitted by the President on the 22d of February, in reply to a call from the Senate, made on motion of Mr. Frelinghuysen, for information, whether the act of 1802 for regulating trade and intercourse with the Indian tribes, and preserving peace on the frontiers, had been carried into effect by the Government, and if not, for what reason the Government had declined to enforce it. The President states, in reply, that he is not aware of any omission to carry into effect the provisions of the act, so far as their execution depended on the agency confided to the Executive, and then enters upon a defence of his general policy in regard to the Indians. We cannot but consider this argument as one of the least successful attempts to make the worse appear the better reason, that we have ever met with. We can imagine, though with difficulty, that there may be among intelligent and well meaning men two opinions upon this subject; but we can hardly conceive it possible, that any intelligent man can be satisfied by the reasoning of this Message.

Our readers are aware, that the treaties between the United States and Cherokee Indians (whose case led to the inquiry of the Senate) recognise these Indians as a nation, guaranty to them the exclusive possession of, and jurisdiction over the territory marked out in the treaties, declare that they are

not under the jurisdiction of any State, stipulate that citizens of the United States shall not settle on their territory or enter it without a passport, and finally state, as one of the objects of these arrangements, the establishment by the Cherokees of fixed laws and a regular government, and the preservation of their national existence. These treaties are sixteen in number, beginning with that of Hopewell, concluded under the old Confederation in 1785, and ending with that of Washington, concluded in 1819. The act of 1802 was passed for the purpose of carrying into effect the provisions of these and the other Indian treaties. It states, among other things, that 'it shall be lawful for the President to take such measures and to employ such military force as he may judge necessary to remove from lands belonging to, or secured by treaty to any Indian tribe, any citizen who shall make a settlement thereon.' Instead of carrying into effect the provisions of the existing laws and treaties,—instead of employing the military force to remove the citizens who had intruded upon the territory of the Cherokees under a pretended authority from the State of Georgia, the President, as is well known, and as he admits himself in this Message, actually removed the troops that had previously been stationed in the Indian territory, and has used, and is still using all the means in his power to remove the Indians themselves. The reasons given in the present Message for this extraordinary course, are as follows.

1. The clause in the Constitution, respecting the employment of the military force, is not imperative.

2. The act provides, that 'nothing therein contained shall be so construed as to prevent any trade or intercourse with the Indians living on lands surrounded by settlements of citizens of the United States, and being within the ordinary jurisdiction of any of the individual States.' This provision the President interprets as 'prospective in its operation, and as applicable, not only to Indian tribes, which at the time of the passage of the act were subject to the jurisdiction of a State, but to such also as should thereafter become so. As soon, therefore, as Georgia had extended her jurisdiction over the Indians within her limits, orders were given to withdraw from the States the troops which had been detailed to prevent intrusion upon the Indian lands within it, and these orders have been executed.'

As to the first of these reasons, which is not much insisted

on, we shall merely remark, that the President is bound, by the Constitution and his oath of office, to take care that the laws are faithfully executed. The act of 1802 gives him the authority,—which he would, doubtless, have possessed without,—to employ the military force for this purpose in the case in question; and having this authority, he is bound by the Constitution and his oath of office to exercise it, if necessary. For a neglect of this, as of any other duty, he is liable to impeachment.

The second, which is the principal reason, supposes, of course, that the extension by Georgia of her jurisdiction over the territory and persons of the Cherokee Indians was a rightful act, and if this were the case, the reason would undoubtedly be valid. The President accordingly proceeds, in the rest of the Message, to a formal justification of the act of Georgia, and rests his defence upon his success in this attempt. But this act, as we have already remarked, is in open contravention of all the treaties with the Cherokees. The President himself, in the course of his argument, admits that such is the fact, and endeavors to remove the objection by proving, that the treaties are not valid. Without examining the reasons adduced in support of this position, which it would be easy to refute in detail, it is sufficient for our present purpose to remark, that the President, in taking upon himself to consider and decide upon the validity of treaties, quits his appropriate functions as an Executive officer, and assumes those which belong to another department of the Government. The Constitution declares, that all treaties are the supreme law of the land, any thing in the Constitution and laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding. As a member of the Legislative department of the Government, having a negative upon the proceedings of the other branches, it is the duty of the President to form and express an opinion upon all bills, that are submitted to him during his administration. As the head of the Executive department, his functions are purely ministerial, and he has no more right to question the validity of the laws or treaties which he executes, than the marshal who acts under him. As an individual, he was, of course, at liberty to speculate at discretion upon this or any other subject. As President of the United States, he was bound by the Constitution and his oath of office to see that the treaties were faithfully executed. In neglecting to do this, from the avowed motive

that these treaties were in his opinion unconstitutional, and thus claiming a right which could only be exercised, if at all, by the Supreme Court, he has exhibited, perhaps, the first unequivocal example of an illegal assumption of power by a President to be found in our history. It is singular and surprising, that the same persons, who habitually express the strongest alarm and jealousy respecting a tendency to encroachment by any of the departments of the Federal Government, should on this occasion have abetted General Jackson in his unwarrantable pretension.

We shall not, however, at present, pursue this subject any further. We conclude with repeating the hope which we have already expressed, that the case will be presented anew to the Supreme Court in such a form, that it may be decided on its merits. Such a decision, if given at the suit of an individual, would still leave the Cherokee community unprotected in the rights which they possess as such, and would not wipe off from the national escutcheon the foul stain that now rests upon it of a breach of the public faith. It would, probably, however, involve an opinion on the constitutionality of the laws of Georgia, which would shake the basis of the President's objections to the treaties, and might induce him to reconsider his determination not to enforce them. Should he finally persist in his present course, we trust that there is enough of intelligence and virtue remaining in Congress, or in the body of the people, to show him that his duties and their plighted faith are not to be trifled with forever with impunity. We say not this from any feeling of party animosity. We respect the President as the person invested by the confidence of the nation with the Chief Magistracy of this great republic, and should rejoice to be able to give to his measures the tribute of our approbation. But when, as in this case, the honor and interest of the country are at stake, the truth must be told. We are bound to these children of the forest by solemn obligations. A violation of them would disgrace us forever. To use the energetic language of the President himself on another occasion, *they must be fulfilled.*

ART. VII.—*The Prospect of Reform in Europe.* *L'Avenir.* Par M. J. L. de SISMONDI. *Extrait de la Revue Encyclopedique.* Paris. 1830.

It has become a trite remark, that we live in an age of most extraordinary events. It is true, that men are prone to magnify the importance of the events, with which they are themselves connected, either as witnesses or actors. But after all due allowance is made for this exaggeration, we cannot but feel that the history of the civilized world, since the year 1775, has been marked with the most wonderful incidents. How important these incidents are, in all their consequences, we cannot yet say. We behold already the developement of momentous events, drawn along by obvious connexion in the train of the great revolution, of which the first scenes were performed on this side of the Atlantic; but of which the subsequent acts, with fearful disregard of the unities of time and of place, have been brought out on other continents, in disconnected societies of men, and after the original actors had passed from the stage. Much more, of which we can have no conception, will no doubt follow, in its appointed time and place.

It is not strange that human sagacity is so often at fault in foreseeing the great revolutions in the fate of nations, for the life of man is too short to measure them. We can fully comprehend but a small part even of contemporary movements. Of what is passing before our eyes, many of the secret springs are hidden from our observation; and of other parts what we perhaps understand may be wholly misapprehended by spectators at a distance. But of the entire combination, of which we ourselves and the generation to which we belong form a part, —whether mean or significant,—the original causes run back to a period antecedent to our observation, and the remote effects are to be developed long after our race is run. Successive generations of men, as well as the individuals that compose them, are social,—are parts of a whole; to speak in the language of science, they are complements to each other. Rousseau maintained, that the family was the only society directly constituted by nature. This is true only in a very limited sense. Looking to the whole nature of man, moral and intellectual, as well as physical, his social character, instead

of being confined to the limits of the family, extends not merely to the community, of which he is a member, and to the general class of nations, to which that community belongs, but to the past and future generations, whose public fortunes are connected with the present by the chain of cause and effect.

This is not mere speculation. Every volume of civil history makes us acquainted with well-defined national eras, marked by events succeeding each other in the obvious train of cause and effect, and extending through the line of many generations. It requires no straining of ingenuity to take up the English history with James I. of England, and show that in his reign, a movement commenced,—distinctly marked in its character, and easily discriminated from the earlier incidents in the history of the British Constitution,—which has not yet wholly run out, though seemingly near its term. The French Revolution was thought to have reached its close, when Louis XVIII. was restored, and Napoleon was banished to Elba. We now perceive, that all that has hitherto passed, great and momentous as it is, has been but preliminary to events of still more awakening importance, the intelligence of which is crowding upon us by every arrival from Europe. On the general character and probable issue of these and other occurrences, which have taken place in Europe during the past year, we propose in the present article to make some desultory remarks.

No one can be insensible to the uncertainty of all speculation on these events, which assumes to foretell their issue. It is like gazing on the western sky at sun-set. We are amazed at the stupendous masses towering up from the horizon, and blazing in the light of the departed sun. We turn away for a moment, to call the attention of a friend to the spectacle; and when we look again, the unutterable splendors have faded, the cloudy battlements have toppled down, and nothing is to be seen, but a sombre tract of deepening shadows. Europe, according to the last intelligence, seems on the eve of a general war; but the next vessel that arrives may inform us that some of the parties arming for the contest have been already trampled into the dust. We see France, Belgium, Holland, Italy, Austria, Poland, and Russia, already in arms or arming; Prussia bristling with bayonets on either frontier; several of the smaller German principalities in revolt; Spain and Portugal, in Heaven knows what state of disorganization, and England in the process of a fundamental change in her Constitution; to

say nothing of Greece, Turkey, and Barbary, whose condition is such, as at any other time would have been thought to contain the elements of discord between all the great Powers.

At the very moment when we write the words, the insurrection may have been crushed in Poland, without having so much as retarded the wheels of the great military Juggernaut, on his march toward Belgium. The plains of Italy may already have been overrun by squadrons of horse from Hungary and Transylvania. Lord Grey's plan of reform may have been voted down, and the Duke of Wellington have returned to the head of the British Government; and if all this has happened, Charles X. may be on the road to Paris. But we hold it much more probable, that a movement has commenced, to be marked no doubt by great vicissitudes, to prosper and to be retarded; to be alternately the object of anxiety, admiration, fear, and hope; to be hailed with rapture, to be misrepresented, to be vilified; but destined to go on, and unfold a mighty train of the most momentous, and as we firmly trust, the most auspicious consequences.

In a word, it would seem that the war of opinion is at length begun, which in 1823 and 1826 was predicted by Mr. Canning, in language so emphatic; with a prophetic grasp of some of the characters of this war, and deep insensibility to others. On occasion of despatching an army to Portugal in 1826, that distinguished statesman, in one of the boldest speeches that ever dropped from the lips of man, thus expressed himself:

'It will be recollected, that when some years ago, I took the liberty of adverting to a topic of this nature, when it was referred to in this house, with respect to the position of this country at the present time, I then stated that our position was not merely one of neutrality between contending nations, but between contending principles and opinions; that it was a position of neutrality, which alone preserved the balance of power, the maintenance of which, I believed necessary to the safety and welfare of Europe. Nearly four years, or rather three years and a half of experience, have confirmed and not altered the opinions then declared; and I still fear that the next war in Europe, if it should spread beyond the narrow compass of Portugal and Spain, will be a war of the most tremendous nature, because it will be a war of conflicting opinions; and I know that if the interests and honor of this country should oblige us to enter into it, as I trust we shall always do with a firm desire to mitigate rather than exasperate, to contend

with arms and not with opinions; yet I know that this country could not avoid seeing ranked under her banners all the restless, and all the dissatisfied, whether with cause or without cause, of every nation with which she might be placed at variance.'

This tremendous war, if not actually begun, would seem very near at hand. The governments and nations of Europe are yet pausing, for a moment aghast;—like the foremost in the immense droves of wild animals in our western prairies, on the brink of the precipice toward which they have been driven; but the momentum acquired is too great, the urgency from behind is too mighty to be restrained, and they must take the chances of the awful leap.

This war, then, like that of our revolution, is a war of opinion; not a war springing from alliances or rival pretensions of sovereigns, family compacts, or reasons of state as estimated by Governments. The people of Poland are of opinion, that their country was iniquitously partitioned sixty years ago, and is oppressively governed by a foreign power at the present day; and they are fighting for independence. The people of different parts of Italy are of opinion, that they are miserably misruled by their papal, ducal, and imperial governors, and they desire a union of their provinces into one independent national organization, Italian in character, spirit, and interests. The Belgians are of opinion, that they should be more prosperous and happier in a voluntary union with a people of kindred language, faith, and manners, than in a compulsory union with a people differing from them in all these respects. In most, perhaps all of the German States, the people are of opinion, that they are fit for popular institutions; and that the charters of free Government promised them in 1814 have been too long delayed. Russia and Austria are of the contrary opinion; and say nay on these great questions of European reform. Russia has already laid her hand upon Poland, and has perhaps crushed her to the dust. The armies of Austria have penetrated into the Ecclesiastical State, without meeting an effectual resistance; and it seems to be reserved for the plains of Belgium to be again the arena of a great contest between the powers of Europe. If Russia, and Austria, and Prussia undertake to constrain the people of Belgium to submit to a government not of their own choice, it is impossible that France, and eventually England, should remain passive

spectators of a policy menacing their own safety and independence; and to this effect the Governments of those two States are pledged to each other and to Europe.

If the contest were to be altogether of this simple character, its issue might be predicted with greater confidence. If it were the Northeastern alliance in support of arbitrary power, against a Southwestern in defence of liberty, the result would be a simpler object of hope or fear, and a matter of easier calculation. But while the contest, in its very nature, threatens to draw in nearly all the States of Europe, there is danger that it will assume, in every State, the added horrors of a civil war. The elements of the contest are not concentrated on the two sides of a line; they are every where diffused. Each of the principles of this political Manicheism is possessed of a potent ubiquity; or if we cannot hope that the liberal principle has champions in the realms of absolutism, we must fear that the arbitrary principle has them openly combatting or secretly plotting in the camps and fortresses of liberty. There is, therefore, to be a struggle of portentous vehemence, and uncertain fortune, in almost every State of Europe, at least in every State, in whose political condition we feel a lively interest.

It would require a large volume, written from the most extensive collection of facts, many of which cannot be known on this side of the water, even to those who take great pains to inform themselves, to set forth the nature and prospects of this contest in each European State. Each has its peculiar grievances, its odious institutions, its oppressive laws, its suffering condition, its unpopular men, its united or divided champions, its able or feeble leaders. In one country the laws are iniquitous, but the administration humane; the powers of the Government despotic, its discretion boundless, but its temper paternal. In another, the class, which by means of education, intelligence, and a competent stake in the community, is well calculated to lead a popular movement, finds a foe in the abjectness of the mass, as dangerous and as powerful, as in the tyranny of the Government. This is the case in Spain and Portugal. No where is there a worse Government, no where are there better or firmer patriots; but the people love their chains. There is throughout Europe a general suffering, a general uneasiness, a general excitement; but the causes of dissatisfaction, the means of giving effect to popular opinion, and the hopes of relief, are as various as the circumstances in which the different political communities are placed.

But, in saying this, we do not intend to say that there is not one great principle in the contest. Though it is a war of interests,—a war in each community of local grievance and disaffection,—it is also the great war of opinion, which was rightly characterized by Mr. Canning as the struggle between the aristocratic and the democratic principle. This circumstance presents at once the most hopeful and the most alarming features of the contest. This consideration makes it a common cause on each side. This unites Governments, which have nothing else in common; and this excites sympathy between those whose peculiar evils may be such as almost to forbid union of feeling or action. Thus, if we contemplated merely the condition of the peasantry of Poland, in relation to the territorial nobility of that country, a condition of strict servitude, we could find no very strong reason for the sympathy which has been expressed in their struggle, by the friends of liberty in France and throughout the civilized world. But when we reflect, that it is the unavoidable effect of the Russian domination, to extinguish in Poland that pride of national character, which is the source of all national improvement, and that this domination began, and has been perpetuated by a policy, which makes a crime of patriotism, and turns all the noble and pure feelings, which the patriotic principle implies, into treason, we see a rational ground for the sympathy which the friends of freedom every where feel and express for this unhappy race. If we farther reflect, that the same power, which crushes revolutionary Poland, is actuated by the same principle and moved by the same interests to crush revolutionary France; and that the archives of the late Government in Warsaw contain the documents, which prove, that movements to that end were in contemplation, we feel that France would be justified in acting, as well as feeling, in concert with the Poles. When our own Lafayette, in the French Chamber of Deputies, gave countenance to the idea, that France ought to take a part in the struggle between Russia and Poland, it was regarded, by the over-prudent, as an indiscreet and dangerous sentiment. We doubt not the veteran understood well the ground on which he trod; and most amply has he been borne out by the cool sneer of him who passed the Balkan, 'That the revolution of Poland had not even the merit of being well-timed, for it found Russia actually embodying a force to put down the rebels in Belgium and France.'

But what is this war of opinion; what are the real grounds of a contest between the aristocratic and democratic principles? What do we mean by these principles? Are they mere phrases, —mere cant; or are they words of momentous significance?

They are words of appalling significance. Whatever be the historical origin of political communities, their object, the only object for which they are considered, in the eye of reason, as having been created, or as entitled to be respected and preserved, is the welfare of their members,—of the greatest possible majority of their members. There was a time in the history of the world, when it came to be believed, that the welfare of the greatest possible majority of the people required, that the civil government should be vested in certain individuals, emperors, kings, and princes, and transmitted in their families. But as it must at all times, and at every stage of civilization, have been extremely difficult to inculcate and keep up this belief, it was usual to dispense with it, as the actual foundation of government, which was *theoretically* put upon the ground of divine right, and *practically* on the right of the strongest. The main dependence was placed on the latter; and it became in fact a maxim of the English law, that the sovereign *de facto* was entitled to allegiance; which, taking the two principles together, was but another form of stating the irreverent proposition of Frederic the Great, who said, that he had observed, that the Lord was always the ally of the strongest party. But men are wonderfully swayed by prejudices early imbibed, —particularly by all such as can be made to connect themselves with religious faith; and no mean success attended the efforts of the civil and ecclesiastical rulers of the world, (whose interest was one,) to inculcate a sacred reverence for Government, an awful submission to power, which was carried in former days to utter prostration of self-respect and personal independence. While the Government was supported and upheld on these principles, its acts proved in all countries, that whatever the real wishes of the rulers might be, the happiness of the people was not the actual result of the whole system. On the contrary, the people were habitually oppressed with taxes and wars, having no other design than to settle the personal quarrels of their rulers; and as a necessary consequence of misgovernment, were kept ignorant and poor.

This was a state of things, of course, that could not stand against the first shock of any considerable effort of awakened

reason; one sound and popular treatise, from a bold and enlightened mind, could have overturned it at once. Luther, or Calvin, or Erasmus, could have overthrown it, in one appeal to the good sense and obvious interest of mankind. But the system was ancient, and consisted of many parts. It was political and ecclesiastical; and those who saw the defects of one part of the system, were blinded to the evils of the other, and thus clung to both. The reformation in religion was treason to the monarchy. The disaffected nobles and princes in France, the Condés and the Colignis, felt the indignities, which they suffered from the interference of Italian priests in a Government, which they claimed a right to monopolize themselves. They therefore joined the Protestant party in religion, but without any notions of political reform. On the same principle, Henry IV. became a Catholic, in order to obtain a peaceable possession of the sceptre; and in this step he was countenanced by the conscientious and Protestant Duke of Sully, as he was imitated in the next century by the illustrious Turenne.

But not only were Church and State so mingled, that political and religious prejudices acted in aid of each other; but the entire frame-work of society was so artfully constructed, that the great and leading abuse of the organization of the Government was copied and perpetuated down to the lowest ranks in the community. The original plan of the feudal system produced this effect. It was a series of successive dependencies. The great barons who, as holding of the crown, were vassals, became lords, in reference to their dependent feudataries; and these exacted with interest, from their retainers, the deference and self-sacrifice paid by themselves to their superiors. The creation of an hereditary nobility, clothed with greater or less power in the government and engrossing a very large portion of the landed property, established in every little manor a miniature abuse, copied from the great primal evil of the arbitrary government of the State. And beyond this, the principle of primogeniture carried into every private family, whose possessions were considerable enough for its application, the same 'enormous faith of many made for one.' So all-pervading, so universal was this abusive system, so closely was it interwoven with all the relations of life, that no doubt it was regarded, nay *is* regarded by those for whose benefit it exists, as the natural order of things. The State was regulated, the Church was

organized, the army was commanded, justice administered, property held and transmitted, on this principle. Men were born to it, and lived under it, and drew the prizes and the blanks of life on no other principles. It enlisted one great portion of the world on the side of their interest, in its support; and it laid upon the rest the hand of power, and what was far more terrific and effective, the leaden mace of their own ignorance. It was to the full as strong in the bigotry of its victims as in the craft of its chiefs. This was its strong hold; men gloried in being trained up to fight the battles of their own slavery. In the noble language of Lucan, they endured more, to decide whether Pompey or Cæsar should be the tyrant, than it would have been worth to have neither:

> '—— tantone ——'
> Proventu scelerum quærunt, uter imperet urbi?
> Vix tanti fuerat civilia bella moveri
> Ut neuter.'

Finally, to all the strength of all the other abusive principles on which the old system rested, has been added, in each successive generation, the growing strength of habit. No man, in the Catholic Church, can take the first degrees of Saintship, under a century, nor be fully canonized under two. It requires a hundred years to raise human weakness to beatific purity;—but the hundred years, if circumstances are favorable, will do it. What subsists to-day by violence, continues to-morrow by acquiescence, and is perpetuated by tradition; till at last the hoary abuse shakes the grey hairs of antiquity at us, and gives itself out as the wisdom of ages. Thus the clearest dictates of reason are made to yield to a long succession of follies. And this is the foundation of the aristocratic system at the present day. Its strong hold, with all those not immediately interested in it, is the reverence of antiquity.

By this system we mean the aggregate of all the institutions which a people, supposing them to be virtuous and well informed, and meeting together free from all prejudices, to organize themselves into a political community, and capable of foreseeing consequences, would reject, as not tending to promote the greatest happiness of the greatest number. We will assume that a people thus assembling would decide, that it was best to have an efficient civil government; composed of the legislative, executive, and judicial departments; that they would provide for the choice of the man, whom the majority should

think best qualified, as chief magistrate, and that they would furnish this executive officer with all the requisite means to enable him to discharge his functions. We do not, therefore, think a vigorous and well organized executive government a part of the abusive aristocratic system. But the people would plainly see, that their chief magistrate was not only constituted for their advantage, but derived his authority from their choice; consequently if any one started the idea that he possessed it by birth or divine right, (as no one probably would in an assembly of men coming together without prejudice,) the suggestion would be instantly rejected as groundless; it might even be derided as absurd. We therefore regard hereditary monarchy as a part of the system which is founded in abuse. Sooner or later, we doubt not, the time will come, when the absurdity of such a system will be as generally felt, as that of the establishment to which Fletcher of Saltoun compares it,—an hereditary professorship of divinity, which he says he heard of in some part of Germany.

This assembly would no doubt constitute a legislative body, and would probably (supposing it, as we have stated, gifted with the foresight of what experience has taught us) organize it into two separate chambers of legislation; but of this we speak with less confidence, as the experiment of one has never been fairly tried. But whether one or two, the people would of course arrange a plan of election, by which the members of the legislature should be designated by the people. If membership were viewed as a privilege, it ought not to be monopolized,—if as a burden, not to be permanently borne by one; consequently provision would be made for a limited tenure of the representative office, and an exercise, at marked intervals, of the popular choice. If any one should intimate, that in both or either of the houses, the right and duty of legislation ought to be hereditary; that when one legislator died, his place should be taken by his oldest son, or his nephew, or, in default of nearer kin, by the most distant assignable heir, (who may be perhaps the most stupid, the most vicious, the most contemptible person in the community); and should remain wholly vacant if he had no heir,—as if his family alone were endowed with special grace to fill it,—such an intimation would be received with astonishment and disgust, and apprehensions for the sanity of the man who made it. We therefore regard an hereditary House of Lords, as a part of the aristocratic system, founded on

the most flagrant abuse. By the same test of principle, we should arrive at the same conclusion, in respect to an established Church, the law of primogeniture, and all antiquated, unequal, and abusive corporate monopolies, in civil or ecclesiastical, public or private affairs.

These all make up the arbitrary aristocratic system; and those who support it, and who,—by the way,—are far more numerous, than those benefited by it, are the aristocratic party. The liberal party are those who are of a *contrary opinion* on all these points. They maintain, that all Government is intended for the good of the people; and ought to be organized to that end alone. They accordingly consider the deliberate and well ascertained will of the people, as the rightful directory of the Government; and they hold it to be proved by experience, that this will can be ascertained in no other way, than that of an equal representation of the people, convened in legislative assemblies, elected for short periods. They know that in moments of excitement, and under the influence of party, both the people and their representatives may will that, which is not for their good; but they know, at the same time, that an hereditary chief and an hereditary legislature are equally liable to be misled, even in their honest opinion of what is for the well-being of the whole people; with the additional evil, that the standing interest of their order is adverse to that of the mass. They accordingly hold that, in the long run, the people acting through representatives of their own choice, are the best judges of their own interests; and that all good government consequently resolves itself into an equal representative system.

But now comes the difficult question in practice, the question requiring for its happy solution the utmost wisdom and calmness, but likely to be agitated on fields of battle, by infuriated armies; that is the question of reform; or of discarding one system and introducing the other; and on this point, there are as many opinions as there are independent thinkers. Although, generally speaking, there are the friends and enemies of reform, divided into the two great parties of which we have spoken, yet a portion of the aristocratic party are willing to abandon a little, to save the rest; and some of the liberal party agree to take something, by way of concession, rather than wade through blood for the whole, with the risk of gaining nothing. The action and re-action of these feelings, for several gen-

erations, in England, has produced that compromise, which is called the Constitution, and which contains something of the aristocratic and something of the democratic principle. This circumstance renders the question of reform singularly complicated in that country; and authorizes each party to maintain, that its favorite principle is the principle of the Constitution.

But good and wise men of all parties admit, that an original wrong may become, in the lapse of time, a vested right, thus far, that in making the changes, which reason and the welfare of the community require, tenderness is to be exercised towards those, who, by no act of their own, are so connected with the present state of things, that they will be ruined by the change. But it must still be remembered, that, where a vested right rests on an original wrong, which after all is a wretched foundation, and where the acquiescence of the people has been compulsory, which is no consent, there the matter ought to be construed most favorably for the many, who suffer by the existing state of things, and least favorably for the few who suffer by the change.

But the passions of men! Aye there is the rub. Reason, the heavenly dictatress, speaks in the general in no ambiguous language. Her teachings, even on these great and difficult questions, are intelligible. She would guide us, by a plain and easy path; would guide us,—nations as well as individuals,—to our greatest good. But her sweet voice is drowned in the cursed din of the passions. The pride of opinion; the selfishness of interest; the generous and the base sentiments; the last infirmity of noble, and the first of mean minds; these all rush to the field, and the principles of the two great parties are often little more than watchwords. Intense concentrated passion is, in too great a degree, the spring of action; reverence for antiquity, awe of sanctity, pride of lineage, *esprit de corps*, appetite for novelty, spirit of adventure, ambition, avarice, envy, revenge, and malice, and at length a horrid thirst for plunder and blood. With these motives to stimulate the combatants, who can wonder that the result is too often one, that equally mocks the hopes and defies the calculations of men. We pretend not to prophecy the result of the present movement in Europe. They least know what will be its issue, who are most nearly connected with its origin and progress. Could it be at all foreseen, the more remote and disinterested

the observer,—possessed of competent information as to facts,—the better qualified would he be, to anticipate the event. The darkest cloud does not always wrap up the fiercest tempest within its lowering folds. A congress or two of the five leading sovereigns, each with an army of two hundred thousand men, to convince the world of the equity of their decisions, may put all right. From the calm fountains of Aix-la-Chapelle and Laybach, the excited nations may again drink in tranquillity and submission. But, as we have already hinted, we hold it to be equally probable, that this generation will not witness the *denouement* of the great drama. We believe that the fear of change, which perplexes monarchs, will pass into a still more fearful reality. A few years since, the audience chamber of the Tuilleries was crowded with allied emperors and attendant kings. He on whom they waited lies low; his lifeless body walled down into the rock of St. Helena, as if the world would have been unsafe had it rested beneath an ordinary covering of clay. Now the palace which bids fairest to be thronged is Holyrood House. In the course of the impending struggle, dynasties will very likely be set up and expelled; kings voted in and voted out, republics proclaimed and crushed. Governments will dissolve into anarchies; and anarchies ripen—or rot—into military despotisms; and these vicissitudes may fill up generations.

Nor can we disguise the opinion, that those States are in danger of the greatest changes, which are organized on a mixed principle. The doctrine of checks and balances may be harmless in a quiet time, and in the undisturbed action of the machine. But when, by some disturbing force, the equilibrium is destroyed, one principle must prevail to the subversion of the other. Then the resistance that checks will chafe; and the weight that balances will bear down; and the more complicated the machinery, the greater the number of parts exposed to disorder. A musical clock is much more likely to get out of repair than a trip hammer. In the political constitution of powerful States, checks and balances,—if they mean any thing,—must be institutions and departments of Government of great force and opposite tendency. Administered by one harmonious, all-pervading counsel, the action is wholesome, easy, graceful; the mighty pendulum of State swings easy and true; and goes no farther on one side than on the other. But suppose a condition of things, when a demon of

discord has taken possession of the body politic, and these great and powerful institutions are at war with each other, each deeming the natural action of its antagonist an abuse, an encroachment, and an outrage,—when the hands are set to tear out the eyes, and the teeth to gnaw the limbs, and what is a system of checks and balances then?—In the present state of the world, we believe that the two simplest Governments are greatly the safest, and least likely to be affected by the convulsions of the times, we mean those of Russia and the United States. The former we think safe, for there does not appear to be any considerable number of persons desirous of change, or disaffected to the present order of things; consequently, there is no antagonist principle. Our Government, of a totally different character, is safe for the same reason. Whatever local discontents may have been created by individual measures, the number is exceedingly small of those who wish for a stronger or a weaker Government. On the other hand, we consider the condition of England as highly critical. It has long been the boast that her Constitution is mixed. Perhaps it would be found, on an impartial analysis, that this supposed mixture is a state of transition from the pure absolutism of the Stuarts to a pure representative Government, toward which since 1688, the Constitution has been struggling. But it is plain, that a pure representative Government cannot exist, where two of the great estates of the realm are hereditary. Mr. Canning denies expressly, that the House of Commons is intended to represent the will of the people; and admits, that if it were so intended, it would root out the other branches of the Government. Tacitus has been appealed to as a witness in favor of the abstract superiority of a mixed form of Government. Sir Robert Peel quotes him for this purpose, in the debate on the pending plan of reform. But in the very sentence in which Tacitus expresses his opinion in favor of a mixed Government, he says that it would be hard to organize, and of transient duration.

France has already gone through many stages of this great change. Either the extremity of the old abuses, or the ardent temper of the French people, or some unexplained fatality pushed the first movements of reform into the wildest excesses of revolution; and from this the State swang back to a military despotism. The surface of the waters has since been broken and tost, and the men and things moving on it, have

been strangely driven about, and, seemingly, without a course. But the under-current, we are inclined to think, sets deep and strong towards a republic. The present state of things is evidently provisional. The people, who through their deputies, have chosen Louis Philip, will, no doubt, choose his successor, and will, probably, choose him for a limited period. Is it likely, that that prince will be permitted to transmit his crown to his son, who has been compelled to obliterate the emblems of his family from the seal of State? Is the chief magistracy of the country so much more of a trifle than the *fleur-de-lys*, that the king, who is obliged to abandon the one, can keep the other? In a word, are not an hereditary crown and nobility absurdities in theory too great to stand the test of popular opinion in France? Nothing is too absurd to pass current, while it passes unquestioned; the greater the paradox, the heartier the assent. King Log, reposing majestically on the oozy bank in unapproached dignity, is a very efficient potentate, and a world of strength and terror may be fancied within his periphery; but when his subjects leap on him, they find he is but a log; and when they find he is a log, they will neither respect nor obey him as a king. Is it possible to put the hereditary right to the crown into a form of words, in which it will command the assent of a people like the French?

Nor do we think the state of things is widely different in England. The temperament of the English is less mercurial than that of the French, but the popular feeling is not less intense. Were the division of property in England more equal at the present day, so that a larger number could be interested in preserving the public peace, the monarchy might pass into an elective Government without a convulsion. The change might be effected by a strenuous Parliamentary contest. Like Catholic emancipation, it would be debated a few years and become a law. The crown, which at no remote period has been vacated, settled, and limited by law, would by law be dispensed with. But the extreme inequality of fortunes gives an ominous character to the contest. There are too many who have nothing to lose. One party contends for the preservation of privileges, too vast to be resigned; the other contends for life; it is the unyielding resolution of those who have all, against the utter recklessness of those who have nothing, at stake. The aristocracy is too rich, the mass of the people too destitute. The same paper, which recently gave an account

of the Marquis of Londonderry's establishment, and of his *fête* to the king and queen,—an establishment and festival of more than oriental splendor,—made mention of the starvation of hundreds of the Marquis's fellow-citizens in Ireland; and this contrast of condition is believed by the mass of the people,—no matter whether truly or falsely,—to be connected with the political abuses of the Government.

Here was Mr. Canning's great mistake. In his strange menace to the Continental alliance, that in the impending war of opinion, England would have it in her power to rally under her standard, against the sovereigns of Europe, the disaffected of all countries, he forgot the disaffected at home. He forgot that the British Government was actually compelled to exert its whole energy, to keep down insurrection; suppress the burning of barns and dwelling-houses, and an indiscriminate spoliation of property. Does any one suppose that the Catholic question was yielded to any thing but the fear of a revolt in Ireland? Did not Sir Robert Peel put the justification of his own course on that question, after a Parliamentary life of opposition to it, on the ground, that the Government could not be carried on without the concession? And does any one suppose that the present plan of Parliamentary reform will prevail,—if it do prevail,—on any other principle, than that of a fear of the physical power of the people?—Taught by these concessions how powerful they are, will the people be more or less loyal to the antiquated parts of the Constitution?

And what is this plan of reform in Parliament?

It appears to us, that it is what it has been declared to be, by the most eminent of those who have opposed it in Parliament; a Revolution; a great change, carrying within itself a pledge of further change. It has been said of revolutions, that they do not go backward. It may with equal truth be said, that they do not stand still till the goal is reached. The footmarks not only point forward, but they run on to the extremity of the principle. An American may be permitted to canvass the merits of this plan of reform, for in one of the speeches of greatest ability,—ability visible through a wretched report,—which we have seen in its support, that of Mr. Macaulay, it is expressly contrasted with the 'Rule of Three' system of the United States; which system is declared to be unfit for England, however well adapted for America. Now we are greatly mistaken, if the event do not prove, that nothing short of the

Rule of Three plan will satisfy the people of England, and that whether the present measure be adopted or not, a question, which will, probably, be decided before our article sees the light, but of which it is impossible for us to foresee the decision.

What is the 'Rule of Three plan?' as it was originally called by Mr. Canning, and after him by Mr. Macaulay, in the late debate. It is simply this, that if forty thousand inhabitants choose one representative, eighty thousand shall choose two. This is our Rule of Three system. Is it not just, is it not reasonable, is it not equitable? Can any other plan be adopted for a representation, which avowedly proceeds on *principle*? Observe, it is not now a question, whether the present system of representation in Great Britain does not work as well as ours, or as any system; but whether a great change in the present system, called a reform, which begins by wholly disfranchising sixty boroughs, *because* their population is under two thousand, and deprives of half their franchise forty-seven boroughs more, whose population is under four thousand, can stop there? It is not pretended that these sixty boroughs are more than others corrupt. It is not pretended, that they have not, on an average, sent a fair proportion of the ablest and most eminent members to Parliament; and it is not pretended that their corporate franchise is not as good and valid as any other right in the kingdom, resting on tradition and prescription; but it is assumed as a principle, that no community possessed of less than two thousand inhabitants, shall send any member, and none possessed of less than four thousand shall send more than one. Now we wish to know, whether this is not, thus far, the Rule of Three system, acknowledged to be just, by being thus adopted; but inevitably leading much farther. What reason can be given, to satisfy the inhabitants of some of the populous towns having no representation at all, and to which it is not proposed to give any?* On the present system, the answer is ready; and it is this, the British

* The justice of our argument has been evinced, by the amendments actually proposed by Lord John Russell, one of which is, that every town of a population over ten thousand shall have a member. This farther concession we take to be made on the Rule of Three principle; but the ministry having been obliged to make it, will the people of England be contented at the contrast between the old boroughs, under four thousand, sending one member, and the new boroughs, over ten thousand, sending no more?

Constitution does not propose a geographical representation; it finds certain boroughs, some large and some small, possessed of the right of sending a member to Parliament, for a long period of years, some of them from time immemorial; the system, in practice, operates well, and it does not profess to be founded on the Rule of Three. But now come the reformers; they say, it does not work well, that the House of Commons has lost the respect of the people, that it is an abuse which cannot be longer borne, that boroughs of less than two thousand members should send representatives, although they may have done it, by a prescription, as old as any title in the kingdom; and that it is an equal abuse, that boroughs of between two thousand and four thousand should send more than one member. Well, then, cannot all the unrepresented towns in the kingdom, whose population exceeds two thousand, say, that if you discard tradition, and go upon reasonableness and fitness, our right is as good as that of the represented boroughs? Surely they can and will. So too as to the counties. It will appear on the reformed plan, that counties differing widely in population possess the same share of power in constituting the House of Commons. Will this be endured in a system, which disfranchises sixty boroughs for no other reason, than that their population is smaller than the others'?

The necessity of farther reform will also be made more apparent, as soon as the application of the new and uniform system of suffrage shall take place. At present, the right of suffrage is very variously exercised in the different boroughs. When it becomes uniform, and the election is made to depend on the number of inhabitants in the several boroughs, possessing the requisite qualifications, and when great questions come to be decided by small majorities in the House of Commons, will the unrepresented, or inadequately represented population, submit to the abuse? Will Leeds, and Manchester, and Liverpool submit to be represented by the same number of members as the old boroughs, whose population is ever so little over four thousand? Surely not. Those, who suffer by the imperfect application of the Rule of Three system,—that is, the majority of the people,—will clamor to have it carried through; and they will have reason and common sense on their side. Mr. Canning and the anti-reformists could answer them; but Lord John Russell cannot. The vice of the present system is, that it *is* the Rule of Three plan, with a blunder in working the question.

The question is, if the borough A has 4,000 inhabitants, and sends two members, how many members shall the borough B send, which has 10,000. Lord John Russell works the question thus; as 4,000 is to 2, so is 10,000 to 2. But it is not. As 4,000 is to 2, so is 10,000 to 5. Then if Lord John Russell should say, that, after all, he does not follow the Rule of Three principle; the next question will be, what principle do you follow, in disfranchising wholly the boroughs under two thousand, and half disfranchising those under four thousand?

It is to be considered further, that the population of England is exceedingly homogeneous. The people, on an average, are as enlightened and well informed in one borough and in one county, as another; and if they were not, the reformed plan does not attempt to give any preference to the more enlightened few, over the less enlightened many. To the manifest injustice of such a state of things as already existing, the anti-reformer has his answer ready; and it is an answer in the spirit of the British monarchical system. We take the representation as we find it, among the traditions of the monarchy. Specific abuses of bribery and corruption, we are willing to correct by disfranchisement in the individual case; but we will disfranchise no corporation on the Rule of Three system. The moderate reformer can give no answer; he can neither plead tradition nor the Rule of Three. He sins at once against the genius of the British Constitution and the four rules of arithmetic. He can stand neither upon Lord Coke nor Cocker; the *jus parliamentarium* nor the multiplication table.

But it is by no means the most momentous consequence of the new plan of British representation, that it must infallibly lead to radical reform and a geographical representation, in the House of Commons. How will it affect the other institutions of the monarchy; the House of Lords, the Established Church, and the hereditary crown? On what foundation do these all rest? Is there any other than tradition and prescription? When they are subjected to the test of the political metaphysics, which decide, that no borough of less than two thousand inhabitants shall retain the franchise of choosing members, can these other institutions stand? We think not. The right of Old Sarum to send members to Parliament is assuredly as ancient as the House of Lords. Old Sarum was a city before the Peers of England were a House of Parliament. The whole Parliament

of England once sat within the walls of this ancient city, now to be deprived of the franchise which it has enjoyed for so many centuries. It is true that Old Sarum, now reduced to a wheat-field, enclosed by a mound, is a very different thing from what it was when it was first summoned by the king's writ, to send burgesses to Parliament. But is it more changed than the House of Lords is changed from its original character and composition? What resemblance is there between the gentlemen, who, with titles of nobility wholly destitute of their original meaning, fill the House of Peers, and are distinguished in nothing but their titles from the rest of society, performing neither in peace nor war any functions peculiar to themselves, and the bold barons of an earlier age; the retainers of the crown, wielding the military strength and engrossing the landed property,—that is, at that period, all the property,—of the realm? If the modern peerage retain any of the qualifications of the old peerage of feudal barons, it is their wealth. But considering that the peerage has no share in the commercial and manufacturing wealth of the country, we are inclined to think, that a number of commoners equal to the number of peers might be selected, whose aggregate fortunes should equal those of the peers. But whether this be so or not, the contrast of the present with the ancient condition of Old Sarum is surely not greater, than the contrast of the present with the ancient character of the English peerage. While then you disfranchise Old Sarum, because it is a theoretical absurdity that an individual nobleman should, as its proprietor, return two members to Parliament, how can you defend the still more stupendous absurdity, that some three or four hundred noble individuals, neither richer, nor more enlightened than as many thousands in the community around them, should actually compose one entire house of legislation, independent of the people and the crown, and transmit this great franchise to their posterity? We again wish the precise point we are laboring to be understood. We are not now arguing against a House of Lords; to moot that question, in this country, would be like reviving the Ptolemaic system; but we are maintaining that the reasons alleged for disfranchising Old Sarum, go the whole length of disfranchising the House of Lords.

It may be said, that there is no clamor against the House of Lords, and that there is a vehement clamor against rotten boroughs. This is a reason of a different kind; and the fact,

we believe, is partly so. The whig aristocracy do not yet clamor against 'their own order;' on the contrary, they manfully sustain it; and the moderate reformers go along with them in this respect. But is a majority of the people of England, numerically taken, friendly to an hereditary house of legislation; is the peerage popular with the Radicals? Read the extracts from the Penny Papers in the Quarterly Review for last October. Recollect the manner in which the axe was laid at the root of the House of Lords in the time of Cromwell. We know the statesmen, who bring forward the present measure, do not propose to destroy the peerage; but will the like forbearance be observed by the agitators, whom that measure will bring into Parliament, and by the people, whom that measure will instruct in their strength, and animate in their zeal?

And if such be the prospects of the peerage, how will it fare with the crown and the church? Let us dwell for a moment on the principle of these establishments. Was it all mere arrogant assumption; all gratuitous fraud upon a credulous age, which taught that the establishment of crown and church was *jure divino?* Far from it. It was a calculation of the deepest worldly wisdom, a provision of the most consummate selfish sagacity. Starting from the simple and undoubted principles that civil government is approved by Providence, and that Christianity is a revelation of Divine truth, men were trained on to the toleration, and at last to the reverence of an established church and an hereditary crown, subsisting by the grace of God. The subtle spirits who reared this fabric knew well that it could rest on no other foundation. The great master principle of human weakness, man's dread of the mysterious unknown, his self-prostration before the Infinite, was resorted to, by the authors of these institutions, because no other principle was strong enough to subdue him to these institutions. They looked round for shoulders broad enough to bear this yoke. Chivalry rattled her sword at the very suggestion of it. The great barons looked over their battlements, and laughed at their fellow baron, the king, who, claiming to be greater than the greatest, was sometimes weaker than the weakest; but Superstition offered his sturdy back to the burden, and bore it, like the strong ass in the Bible, for centuries. But those centuries are passed. The divine right of the crown and an established church are exploded, and on what foundation do they now rest?

If they rest on any other foundation than that on which the franchise of Old Sarum rests, we do not know what it is. They are the traditionary institutions of England; the pillars of the British monarchy. They are now, if you will, erect, but their basis is insecure. It is not two centuries since the great usurper heaved them from their foundation, and showed that their substructions, as the historian says of those of the Roman capitol, were insane. The era of the elder political fanaticism has gone by. A milder delusion succeeded, and the revolting features of the ancient toryism are now hidden under the mask of tradition. The sanctity of that tradition is in its turn assailed, and in it the only conservative principle of the British Constitution. We do not say, that the British Constitution is doomed to irremediable abuse,—to the forced toleration of any and every existing evil. But we humbly apprehend, that the only principle of reform, which is consistent with its preservation, is the temperate correction of practical evils, by specific remedies applied to the individual case. General and theoretic remedies are inadmissible; for theoretically the whole monarchy is an abuse.

If this plan prevail, the ancient system will be in fact acknowledged to be abusive; and the Reform will be the Constitution. This new Constitution will of course rest on a totally new principle, viz. that no institution shall be allowed to continue in England manifestly unreasonable in itself,—however ancient the prescription on which it rests. Can such a principle stop at the present measure of reform? It is impossible. It will stop at nothing in the House of Commons, but an equal geographical representation of the kingdom by districts;—and when that is attained, it will stop—let the man who can, say where.

It must be recollected, in calculating the progress of reform in England, that it is to be governed by powerful influences, exterior to that country,—and independent of any control from within. One of the great elements of modern society is international sympathy. A narrow channel divides England from a country, whose institutions were as ancient, and till they fell, were believed to be as solid, as those of England. In the progress of forty years of tremendous revolutions and fearful vicissitudes, France has reached a system greatly exceeding the English, in its popular character, and is verging toward one still more completely popular. A great

multiplication of small freeholders, consequent on the breaking up of the landed estates, has shaken the French aristocracy to its foundation; and the extension of the right of suffrage will again put the continued existence of the peerage, recent at the best as at present constituted, to the question, to be decided by the representatives of the mass of the people. How will that question be decided? Does any man doubt?

But it is not from France alone, that England is to learn the great lesson of reform. Although her statesmen now think they cannot adopt our Rule of Three system, destiny is not surer, than that they must and will imitate it. Right or wrong, beneficial or pernicious, it is impossible to persuade the mass of the people of any community, that the system, which gives to them an equal voice in the Government of the country, is not the best. Governments and ministries may persuade themselves, but they cannot persuade the people that they are their own foes. The prosperity of this country, under its popular representation, will prove an argument for radical reform in England, which nothing can refute. It will come with the greater force, because it comes from a kindred source. When we proclaim the superiority of our system over the English, we do not say that our Abana and Pharphar are better than all the waters of Israel. No; the pure stream of our popular system flows out of the living rock of English liberty. Our fathers brought the principle from their native land, and established it here. Of British origin, it is congenial with British feeling; it is natural to the Saxon race. Till it had been so beautifully developed here, it was competent for the champions of ancient prescriptions to say that an equal representation was an Utopian dream. But we have exhibited it to the world, a noon-day reality; a living, healthy and powerful agent. We learned from the fathers of English liberty, that taxation and representation should go hand in hand. We saw, in the land of our forefathers, that this glorious maxim was thought to be satisfied, when supplies were voted to the ministry by a Parliament, in which four hundred and eighty-seven out of six hundred and fifty-eight held their seats, either on the mere nomination or under the controlling influence of the Government and two hundred and seventeen individuals. Not thus did we understand and apply the maxim. We believed that all, who share the burden of the taxes, should possess a share in the representation; and on this as on the corner stone

our system rests. Is it just? Is it equitable? Is any other system either just or equitable? And when you cut adrift the vessel of State from the ancient moorings of tradition, will she not infallibly be borne down the popular current, as far as it flows? Will the people of England, once engaged in the business of reform, compare their unequal, imperfect, and complex system with one as simple, equal, and just as ours, and submit to the continuance of the abuse? It cannot be. We shall more than return the inheritance, which our fathers brought over with them; and like the Roman daughter, we shall give back the tide of life to the frame of our political parent.

What period may elapse, before the political system of England will be thus regenerated, we affect not to conjecture. No observant person can deny, on the one hand, that elements are there in motion, competent to the production of any change, however stupendous; nor, on the other, that the existing institutions are deeply enough rooted, for a duration indefinitely prolonged. What we call accident exercises the most potent influence over human affairs, in peace as well as in war. We believe it may be safely said, that no great political movement ever resulted precisely as it was intended to. We should not be surprised, if a very few years witnessed an organized republican government in France and in England. It would not imply greater changes, than those which took place in this country between 1775 and 1789. Those changes here, it has been said a thousand times, grew out of the prevalence of a few elementary principles of civil liberty; and those principles, at the present day, are just as current in Europe, as they were and are in America. The object of government is the good of the people; the rights of the people are equal; the well ascertained will of the people is the rule of government; these maxims are just as well understood in England as in America; and they are if possible more inconsistent with moderate reform, than with the continuance of the old system.

It may be, that the great war of opinion will be delayed till England and France are thus regenerated; and that all the struggles which precede this consummation, will be but as skirmishes preliminary to the great and eventful battle. No one can doubt, that it will be contested with fearful power and perseverance; for while the liberal principle has been organ-

izing itself in one part of Europe, the opposite principle will have been consolidating itself in the other.

Of the event of the contest, if we judged only from the past experience of the world, where liberty has so often been cloven down and trampled under foot, we might despair. But we take refuge in general principles. We may mistake the moment of their application, but their truth is beyond dispute. Man was born for liberty; his soul pants for liberty; he has faculties both of power and will, that fit him for it; civilization is but the growing progress of communities toward liberty, and liberty will triumph. The array against her may be appalling, but her cause is the cause of God, who will neither fear nor let us despair,

> 'When to meet the noise
> Of his almighty engine he shall hear
> Infernal thunder; and, for lightning see
> Black fire and horror.'

We know it is said, and almost in lieu of every thing like a vigorous grasp of the subject, that Europe is not fit for free institutions like ours; and that every effort to establish them must therefore prove abortive. But suppose we grant, that Europe is not *now* fit for a popular representative Government? What then? Can it never become fit? If the system be rational, and be demonstrably founded in a sound philosophy of our nature, is it enough to say that Europe is not fit for it? The process of its adoption may be slow; it must be gradual; it may be painful; but we are strongly inclined to think it will be sure. It is even now in train. It is precisely this transition from the absolute to the liberal system, which is shaking the established Governments of Europe. This great social revolution, like every thing else in human affairs, will proceed with an irregular movement, by fits of progress and relapse. In all that is accomplished by human agency, and more especially the joint agency of many individuals, there must be turns of effort and exhaustion; of conflict and languor; there must be seasons of hope and despair. But the work goes on, and often when the energy of one agent seems exhausted, and the sacrifices of one generation appear ineffectual, a mighty re-action brings up the arrears of the revolution; and shows that the reforming energy was but accumulating its power, while its visible demonstration was stayed.

What is the purport of this often repeated proposition, that Europe is not fit for our free institutions? Let us examine it, and see if it be not a *petitio principii* of the enemies of reform; an adroit,—and not very adroit,—evasion of the arguments, by which the correction of ancient abuses is urged.

When it is said that Europe is not adapted to our institutions, it is of course not meant that there is any peculiar quality in the European soil, which unfits it to be the theatre of a free popular system. It must be meant, that the civilized nations in Europe are not capable of living happily under such a system. Now why are they not? We think they are, and among other reasons, for the following.

Taking it at present, for granted, that a free popular and representative system is itself the only Government consonant with reason,—which we do not understand to be denied *in the abstract*,—we maintain, that our system is adapted to the political societies of Europe, as well as of America. 1°. Because man is not only the same being on both sides of the water, but because the nations are of the same social stock; and it is not to be admitted, that in great and vital concerns, such as Government, families of nations of kindred origin, and reared in the same school of civilization, should require, the one an arbitrary, and the other a liberal system. It cannot be that despotism suits men on one side of the water, and liberty on the other. Liberty suits them on both sides; it suits them equally on both sides; and the main arguments against its introduction in Europe amount to an admission of this proposition; for these arguments are little more than an allegation of the antiquity of the existing prescriptions, and the inconvenience of a change; not that the established order of things is good in itself.

But not only are the nations of Europe and America of the same stock, and brought up in the same school of civilization, but their present social condition, man for man, family for family, neighborhood for neighborhood, is so nearly the same, in all things not connected with their political condition and civil privileges, that it is scarcely conceivable, that they should be supposed, by any intelligent person, to require a radically different constitution of government. Compare Americans and Englishmen together. Do not the same principles of natural justice, the same notions of equity prevail between man and man? Is the duty a man owes his neighbor very differently

understood in the two countries? Are not the domestic relations on a footing substantially the same? Are not reputation, pleasure, fortune, ease, and other great ends of life desired and pursued in the same way there and here? Most certainly. With what plausibility then can it be affirmed, that England is unfit for republicanism; that while in America, the people insist on choosing those, who make and administer their laws, it is absolutely necessary that in England they should not choose them? We believe that no such necessity exists, nay, that the pretence of it was abandoned, when the doctrine of *divine right* was abandoned. There is no medium between that doctrine and popular will. How can there be? If the king holds neither of God nor man, of what or whom does he hold?

But it is said, the mass of the people are not enlightened enough in Europe for a republic. This is a plausible argument. It has been often used; we have, perhaps, used it ourselves; but on reconsideration, we are inclined to doubt its solidity. It cannot be that there are not in all the countries of Europe persons enough of intelligence to carry on a popular Government. At any rate, we suppose this will not be insisted on abroad as the difficulty. We do not perceive that it is any *more* necessary, that a republic should be enlightened than a monarchy. If the people are ignorant under any form of Government they will be cozened and oppressed; it does not necessarily follow, that this will be more the case under a republic than a monarchy. We think the reverse might be shown, and, at all events, who can doubt, which form of Government is most likely to create a widely diffused mental *stimulus;* to rouse the people generally from their ignorance, and encourage them to promote the cause of popular education? The very argument shows, that it is the tendency of the arbitrary system to perpetuate ignorance, and of the liberal system to encourage the diffusion of knowledge.

Again it is said, there is too great an inequality of fortunes in Europe for a republican system;—that power must directly or indirectly go with property.—Here also it may be doubted, whether this is not an exceedingly temporary state of things, which a bloodless revolution could entirely change. Let a law pass distributing estates equally, and prohibiting long trusts; and this enormous disparity of fortunes would not last two generations. Besides, we apprehend this difficulty is more formidable in appearance, than in reality. When we

thus contrast Europe and America in this respect, and in the more general diffusion of knowledge in this country, it seems to be taken for granted, that uniformly throughout America, there is a great equality of wealth and intelligence. It is, however, well known, that this is not so. In our large cities, there is every shade of human fortune, as in Europe. It has been stated, that in Boston there are two thousand persons and more, who get their daily bread by begging or fraud. These must all be persons of desperate fortune, of abject poverty. There is in the same city a very wealthy class, and between the two extremes, there is every intermediate degree. Does not the popular system work well in Boston? A more perfect democracy never existed, than that, which has at all times and under all names, swayed our ancient metropolis. But go out into the country; does not the same inequality exist? We fear it does. We wish the supposed distinction between Europe and America in this respect were better founded. There is, we know, a vastly greater amount of abject poverty and want in Europe, arising mainly out of the plan on which estates are divided; but we mean to say, that that Utopian equality of condition, assumed to be necessary to a republic, does not exist in town or country in the United States. We have no landed proprietors, whose estates yield two hundred thousand pounds a year. We presume there is not a merely landed estate in America, the fee simple of which is worth one year's rent of the Duke of Bedford's property. But we have wealthy citizens in the country. So too, thank Heaven, we are not overwhelmed with pauperism; but there is in every village something of it; and between these two extremes, there are all the shades of condition. But popular institutions work equally well in town and country, and perfectly well in both; and we do not, on scrutinizing the proposition, perceive any necessary or natural connexion between the existence of an army of paupers, and incompatibility with republican institutions. Or if there be, the greater the burden of pauperism, the stronger the motive for introducing the corrective of popular institutions; and we accordingly find the oppression of the poor laws in England named as one of the evils, which demand a Parliamentary reform. If it be meant, that a very wealthy hereditary aristocracy could not subsist under a republican Government, because the laws of primogeniture would be repealed and the statute of distributions would be changed, this

is true, but it amounts merely to saying, that you cannot, at the same time, have the aristocratic and the liberal system. But every day's observation shows, that a popular system is not incompatible with the honest possession and secure enjoyment of large private fortunes.

But it is true, that there are parts of the United States where, from obvious causes, a more general equality of condition and fortune prevails than in others; we refer to the newly settled portions, as compared with the old. If this objection to the introduction of liberal institutions in Europe were well founded, these institutions ought to be observed to operate more successfully in those parts of our country where this greater equality exists, and less so in those, where there is a greater disparity of conditions. Such, however, is in no degree the fact. There is not, perhaps, any very perceptible difference in this respect, but if there be any, it is the other way. The great point of embarrassment in popular Governments, is the orderly conduct of elections and respectful acquiescence in their result. Now it is notoriously the case, that the elections are no where more quiet and orderly than in the oldest settlements of the country. Five thousand votes are frequently taken in one day in Boston, and a few years ago, in one hall; but a popular tumult, going to the length of a bloody nose, we do not remember to have heard of, in the most angry party times. In the more newly settled parts of the country, the elections are occasionally more tumultuous.

But, it is said, the people of Europe are habituated to hereditary institutions. This is true, and what follows? Nothing but this; that the first generation might be somewhat awkward in administering a different system. Our forefathers were habituated to the European system; but they built up their republican Colonies with infinite ease. If the political history of Europe were examined for this purpose, it would be found, that in all the essential relations of society and government, changes are at all times made, affecting the condition of men vastly more than an abolition of the hereditary principle would do. The Catholic emancipation affected more persons agreeably and disagreeably, than would be affected either way immediately, by making the King of England eligible every seven years. A declaration of war shakes the frame of society more, we think, than it would be shaken by quietly substituting an elective Senate for an hereditary House of Lords. There is

not so much tenacity of national habits as is supposed. A nation is composed of individuals; and though its history runs back a thousand years, it is made up of short-lived men. The monarchy is a thousand years old; but the rising and risen generations of men, who between the ages of twenty and forty-five decide the course of affairs, have had none of them a very long, many of them a very short time to become habituated to any thing. Make the superior excellence of popular institutions the prevailing opinion of the day; enlist the newspapers in its support, and get the popular speakers to take it up, and you will soon see what the habit of a thousand years is worth. Could you wake up the past generations from their graves; could you gather together the perished multitudes, who have lived and died beneath the antiquated institutions, you might then put the question on the ground of long prescription; and we have great doubts whether you would carry it even then,—certainly not, if they had to stay with you and live under the old and abusive systems.

Do you say the people are too ignorant? It takes a child six months to learn to read, and an adult may do it in six days. The expense of the Walcheren expedition:—the money,—to say nothing of the men,—the money, that was buried under the mud of the islands in the Scheldt, would have sent a schoolmaster to the remotest glens in the highlands, and the deepest mines in Cornwall. As for equality of fortune, one generation is long enough to introduce as perfect an equality in Europe as in America, and this without violence, confiscation, or even personal hardship:—for there is surely no hardship in passing a law, that when a man dies, if he do not dispose of his property by will, his children shall divide it; and if he do dispose of it, it shall only be for one generation. Hardship did we say? The hardship is the other way. Such a law would at once remove this much dreaded barrier to free institutions.

But were the difficulties few or many, small or great, which oppose the introduction of liberal institutions in Europe, they are not of a nature, which will satisfy the mass of the people. You cannot satisfy them, that any thing is too good for their enjoyment. Seeing the American people choosing their chief magistrate every four years, they will not trust to the chance of birth the designation of a chief magistrate for life. When they see us calling from the mass of the community the citizen, whom we may deem most worthy and best qualified to

administer the State, they will not allow this momentous trust to pass by inheritance. When they see us, at the end of four years, quietly displacing the chief magistrate, who has disappointed public expectation, they will not submit to the alternative of a life of misgovernment or a bloody revolution. They will have an elective system; or, at any rate, they will try for it.

They will not be alarmed at mistaken representations of the instability of our system. We were surprised, in the late debate in Parliament, to find even so well-informed and liberal a person as Sir Robert Peel, falling into this error. In his able speech on the project for Parliamentary reform, Sir Robert, after saying that our system was but forty years old, asks, "how often since 1789, there had been a change with respect to the mode of electing a President." It cannot be denied, that *one* change in the details of the choice has been made; but we think it may be affirmed, that the same persons, that have been chosen, would have been chosen, had the Constitution been from the beginning as it now stands, or had it never been altered. It would be an inquiry foreign from the subject, but we think it would be easy to prove, that the British Constitution has, for every forty years since their constitutional history begins, undergone greater alterations, than that which took place in our Constitution, relative to the election of President. Every Parliament may alter the British Constitution at every session; the very difficulty of the progress of an amendment of our Constitution through all the requisite stages, must make it a rare occurrence.

Finally, we believe the people in Europe fit for a general and a radical change, for this reason, that the existing system is upheld by military force. It is well known that a powerful police and a powerful army are kept up in every part of Europe; and in England not less than on the Continent. Thirty thousand men, armed with bayonets, watch over the tranquillity of Ireland. In England, where it is forbidden by law to station a military force in a place, where an election is going on, it is usual, whenever a contest is anticipated, to put a few companies in motion toward the neighborhood of the spot, where the poll is held. It has been remarked, that without the horse guards, London would be uninhabitable. The liberal politicians of the last century, and especially our fathers, dearly cherished the maxim, that standing armies in time of peace

were dangerous to the liberties of a people. They had a right to think so, for this was the agency by which the Governments in Europe were all upheld. But they failed to provide a remedy. Continual wars rendered constant levies necessary to the public safety, and the condition of Europe was rarely such that it was safe to disarm. Had the attempt been made by any legislative body, against the pleasure of the crown, to disband its troops, and thereby break its power, the troops were at hand to suppress the movement. In fact, it is a contradiction in terms, to suppose the existence of a legislative body, competent to reduce a standing army, in a Government upheld by such an army; and in point of fact, we know that there was no Government in Europe where such a legislature existed.

The evil then seemed remediless, most remediless at a moment when the remedy was nearest at hand. Were we called upon to single out and identify the most peculiar characteristic of the age, we should say that it is the extension of public opinion to the ranks of the army; the integration into the State of the military array, which had been set apart to watch, to overawe, and to govern the State; the transfusion into the breast of the soldier, of the feelings and sympathies of the citizen. Henceforth it is a most grave question, how far the army can be trusted by the Government, and in this doubt, the support, which the Government derived from the army, crumbles into dust. This is a new element, and perhaps the most important, in the actually existing system of Europe.

It is a state of things brought about by the rising of Europe against the despotism of Napoleon. This extraordinary man, his head turned with success, had too little consulted the national pride of the various countries, over which his victorious armies had extended his empire or his influence. When the tide of fortune began to turn against him, in the dreadful Russian campaign, the sovereigns of the continent rallied their subjects to the field, to join in the crusade against the foreign despot, and restore the independence of the subjugated or tributary States. The call was answered from one end of Europe to the other. Old and young, noble and peasant, men of all professions and trades, from the veteran to the school-boy, rushed to the field, to fight the battles of independence and the people. It is easy to see, that the spirit thus roused, was totally distinct from that of military subordination; and that when these patriotic legions

came home from their victorious wars, they would come with a temper poorly fitting them to discharge the duties of a standing army. The armies of Europe have been thus infected with a noble contagion; enervated, not with the luxuries of Capua; corrupted, not by the spoils of Asiatic wars, but won over by the strong sympathy of civil duty. Their country has addressed them by the sacred name of citizens, and it has had as powerful an effect, as when it was pronounced by Cæsar; as powerful, but of the opposite character. When addressed as citizens by Cæsar, the soldiers were ashamed of their mutiny, and begged to be restored to their character as soldiers; when addressed as citizens by their neighbors, by their fellow-citizens, by their country, they are ashamed of their employment as the instruments of oppression, and beg to be restored to the character of patriots and men.

It is extremely doubtful, whether, at this moment, there are more than two Governments in Europe, who can rely upon their armies, perhaps not more than one. We refer to Austria and Russia. The gates of Constantinople were approached but two years ago, in consequence of the absolute impossibility of inducing the military chieftains in Turkey to defend the Government. The French troops at Paris deserted their officers by regiments, when the existence of the Government that paid them was at stake. The Belgian troops were not slow in following the example. The army of Poland, commanded by the brother of the emperor, a personal favorite with the soldiers, was the first to embrace the cause of the revolution. There are now five great armies in Europe, on whose temper and conduct the issue of events mainly depends. The English, the French, the Prussian, the Austrian, and the Russian. The Russian, and perhaps the Austrian, may be depended upon by their Governments to any extent; although Hungary, the strongest portion of the Austrian empire, the portion which furnishes the best part of the army, and particularly the cavalry, is penetrated with disaffection. They are a people having their own language, and their own nationality, amounting to eight or nine millions, proud of the recollections of their ancient independence, and impatient of the Austrian yoke. But their ancestors came into Europe to trample on the degenerate Romans, and it cannot be expected of the descendants of Attila and his army,—after a feud of fourteen centuries,—to be very tender of the rights of the Italians. The French army forms,

in opposition to the Russian, the liberal extremity of the scale. No Government, not purely popular, could derive any support from it. The Prussian army is popular, with perhaps as much of the leaven of blind subordination, as the Austrian army has of revolution. No people in Europe was more thoroughly imbued with the patriotic fury of 1813 than the Prussian. None had been so sorely galled by the yoke of Napoleon; none rose with equal ardor to throw it off; and none has murmured so deeply at the failure of their king to establish a popular Constitution. These feelings pervade the army; but there is in the German armies generally, as in the German character, a loyalty, a spirit of subordination, and a habit of discipline, which would perhaps keep portions of it neutral in a war of opinion, and possibly induce it to fight the battles of the Government. But we are not certain, whether the Prussian army could be depended on, in a direct crusade against the Belgians or the Poles. The English army is happily dependent on the legislature for any disposition to be made of it, in a foreign war. In its actual composition, it is as thoroughly disciplined as any in Europe, and might probably be depended on, in a foreign war, as implicitly as a Russian or an Austrian army. But it is impossible to put it in motion without the sanction of Parliament. The point to which the Government can depend on it, to hold the people in check at home, is more questionable. It has never yet swerved from its fidelity; and although great pains are taken to withdraw the public attention from its agency, and the most superstitious care is had not to put the soldier in motion in direct contravention of law, yet it is a matter of notoriety, that nothing but a detachment of mounted troops, always at hand at every weak point, has kept the peace in England for the last half century. But the public mind in England has been, within a very short period, most powerfully influenced. The consciousness of physical strength has been portentously developed, on the part of the discontented. The last Quarterly Review unhesitatingly ascribes the policy of the Duke of Wellington, in respect to Catholic emancipation, and the panic of the aristocracy on the subject of Parliamentary reform, to the dread of physical force. We suppose the Duke of Wellington is not a man whose nerves are particularly subject to panic fear, and we cannot doubt that the opinion is widely prevalent in England, that it would not have been safe much longer to oppose these measures; in other words, that the army could not be trusted to support the Government.

In this state of things, what is to prevent the people of England from meeting by their delegates in convention, to devise a general reform of the Constitution? The right to do so, has been, on the most solemn occasions, recognized as the birthright of Englishmen. Such a measure is familiar to them from our example; and the history of their own liberties dates from a similar convention of all those who, at that day, were allowed to have any rights,—the Barons at Runnymede. There is no doubt, that such a measure is in accordance with the spirit of the age, and with the temper of a large majority of the people of England; and if the troops could not be depended on to suppress the preliminary movements, required for such a convention, we see nothing to prevent its taking place.* And that some such course will be adopted, we have little doubt; we might almost say, that it is the general belief in England, that a radical change is impending in the Constitution of the country. It is conceded that the proposed measure of reform is forced upon the ministry, by the fears of popular convulsion. Of this measure, the Duke of Wellington, as the head of the last administration, has lately declared in the House of Lords, from the lights of an experience of forty-five years in the public service, that it will be fatal to the Constitution of the country; while Lord Grey, the responsible

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*We beg leave to observe, that this article was written and sent to press, before the reception of the intelligence of the loss of Lord John Russell's bill, and the consequent dissolution of Parliament. In these and the subsequent events we find confirmation of the positions, which we have ventured to take. We cannot but remark on the extraordinary character of the King's message, and its tendency toward the adoption of the measure (a convention) alluded to in the text:—

'*My Lords and Gentlemen*,—I have come to meet you for the purpose of proroguing this Parliament, with a view to its immediate dissolution.

'I have been induced to resort to this measure *for the purpose of ascertaining the sense of my people*, in the only way in which it can be most conveniently and authentically expressed, for the purpose of making such changes in the representation as circumstances may appear to require, &c.'

It cannot escape the dullest apprehension, that a new Parliament, (by admission of the King's ministers) so far from being 'an authentic way of expressing the sense of the people,' expresses only the sense of the four or five hundred individuals, who nominate the majority of the House of Commons. There can be no authentic way of expressing the sense of the people, (in default of a popular representation) but that of a convention.

author of the proposed plan, offers it as the least that would satisfy the public demand, and as a measure, which would content the people for a long time. It seems to us, that these are but two forms of expressing one and the same prevailing, undefined, and alarming idea, that the present Constitution of England cannot last.

We have already remarked, that we see no intrinsic difficulty in the adoption by England and the other countries in Europe, of a Constitution like ours; and we believe it will take place; with what ease and tranquillity on the one hand, or violence on the other, must depend upon the resistance of the party opposed to change. If the liberal party, as a class, are to undertake the business of reform, with halters round their necks, they will of course go desperately to work; and if they triumph, the blood of their adversaries will flow. But if, as appears to be the intention of the privileged orders at present, they allow the measures of amelioration proposed, to take a parliamentary course, although we are far from believing the plan now in agitation will content the people of England for a long time, yet we see no reason why it should be productive of any convulsions, either while it lasts, or in the transition to still more popular institutions. One thing is certain, the feudal system is worn out, and with it all the institutions that rested on it; so that the form cannot much longer be kept up. The state of the world requires a simpler action of Government; and despotism or liberty is the alternative. Hume has paradoxically said, that the English monarchy would find its Euthanasia in despotism. Hume certainly was never claimed for the liberal party; but it is not easy to imagine what ideas he could have had of the objects of any Government, that enabled him to view the degeneracy of the English system into a despotism, as an Euthanasy. But if despotism is to be its Euthanasia, we believe republicanism will be its resurrection. If it must die an absolute Government, it will revive a popular one.

The period and the progress of this change will be greatly dependent on the result of the present movements in Europe, of which, as we have ventured to express the hope, we have no doubt the final result will be favorable to the cause of liberty, although the most terrific fluctuations and vicissitudes of fortune may prolong the struggle for generations. But what are thirty, what are a hundred years, in the history of a move-

ment, destined in all probability to create a new era in the world? It was just two generations from the commencement of the social war in Italy, which sealed the fate of the Roman republic, to the battle of Actium which established the empire.

We cannot in the meantime, but feel the peculiarly delicate position, in which our own country is placed. With a majority of the great European powers we stand in important relations. In the event of a maritime war, our neutrality will again be exposed to encroachment and violation. On the wisdom, talent, and patriotism of the Government of the United States it depends, to preserve the country in what may, without exaggeration, be called a crisis in the world's affairs. We could wish, that the part, to which the United States were summoned, might not be confined merely to that of a cold self-preservation. At this anxious moment in Europe, it would be gratifying to have our beloved country universally regarded as a city of refuge, to the victims of power, disaster, and chance. Such it has hitherto been; and it is no small consolation to us, amidst the untiring obloquy directed against our institutions, by the absolute party in Europe, that the United States are the region, to which the mind instinctively turns, in that quarter of the world, when some dreadful vicissitude overtakes what they call their permanent establishments.

But we ought to do more. It rests with us to make the popular system attractive and respectable. Our political errors will not only fall heavily upon ourselves, but they will, in the most exaggerated form, be held up to discountenance their imitation in Europe. We can in no way so much accelerate the political emancipation of the old world, as by showing mankind that liberty is a spirit of justice, law, morality, and intellectual improvement. At present the word revolution is a word of dread, made by the reign of terror in France, the abhorrence of mankind. Let us show to the world, that blood is not the natural cement of liberal institutions; that the arts of society flourish under their influence, and that man is not the worst enemy of his neighbor or himself.

ART. VIII.—*Popular Sports and Festivals.*

The Sports and Pastimes of the People of England. By JOSEPH STRUTT. *A New Edition, with a Copious Index.* By WILLIAM HONE. London. 1830.

If Seged, emperor of Ethiopia, had thought fit to consult the poets before he set himself seriously at work to be happy, he might have spared himself seven days' useless labor. Those of England would have told him in plain terms, that his project came altogether too late in the day; for Goldsmith, one of the most trustworthy of their number, had seen the rural virtues embark for the purpose of leaving the country, and no intelligence had ever been received of their arrival elsewhere; while the poets of antiquity would have claimed the merit of promulgating the same doctrine some centuries earlier. He would have ascertained, in short, that the days of simplicity and innocence were all gone by; and that the traditional recollections of a golden age were not very likely to be realized in any thing present or to come. Nor are the poets the only persons who have been haunted by these melancholy visions. Orators have proclaimed, that the age of chivalry is gone; philosophers have exhausted their eloquence to induce mankind to cast away the arts of civilization, and return to the independence of the savage state; and even some political economists have reached the same conclusion by a different process; for if the danger of the overstocking of the earth with inhabitants be as imminent as they pretend, it is obvious, that the farther we retreat from their millennium of famine, the better.

Now, though most of these opinions are little better than mere heresies, we can all of us detect in ourselves a lurking disposition to believe in them; and the reason is, that we see them by a sort of candle-light, which makes them appear to greater advantage, than the broad clear light of noon. It is as hard to ascertain the latitude of the good old time on the chart of history, as to fix the precise compass of the memory of the oldest inhabitant; and this uncertainty produces the same effect, as that of distance upon the landscape. We think of past times with a feeling similar to that, with which we see the places which have been consecrated by some great event, or some act of generous self-devotion. Who is there that does not figure to himself with delight, the array of Can-

terbury pilgrims issuing from the Court of the Tabard inn,—Queen Mab and Oberon leading the dances in the moon-light ring,—the proud bearing of the mailed knight, and the peerless charms of the lady of his love? It seems hard that truth should appear to read the charm backwards, and put to flight these truant fancies. We hardly admit our obligations to the sturdy chronicler, who reminds us, that all this belongs to a time of superstition and feudal bondage, and that there are higher accomplishments in the world, than the art of dealing hard blows. It is like waking from a delightful dream; and this is a dream more liable to such an interruption than any other. Mr. Irving has made the world in love with the innocent simplicity of old English manners; but a conscientious misgiving came over him, when he witnessed the battle which disfigured his May-day festival, and he reluctantly owned, that his swains were somewhat less Arcadian than he previously thought them. He touched, however, very lightly on the error, for the same reason which prevents him from undeceiving people in regard to a ghost story,—an unwillingness to disturb their comfort. Without adhering to this poetical faith, we are willing to believe, that the simplicity of old-fashioned manners was not without its charm; and that the sports and festivals of early times carried happiness to many humble hearts, to which what is now called comfort was wholly unknown. The habits generated by artificial modes of life are, in some respects, less propitious to many valuable qualities of heart, than the unpretending quietness of rural life;—the refinements of society, undoubtedly, repress the display of much honest warmth and sincerity of feeling; and if we look only at the disadvantages of our present condition, and select all that is attractive in the other, the world must appear to be losers by the exchange; but reason, to say nothing of political economy, will hardly admit the equity of this mode of comparison.

The elaborate work of Mr. Strutt was designed to give an account of the sports and pastimes of the people of England from the earliest period to the present time; and we trust it is unnecessary to say more in proof of its importance and value, than that it is the same which was constantly kept by Mr. Slingsby in his school-house near Bracebridge hall, in order to teach the boys to amuse themselves after the fashion of former times. Mr. Hone's contributions, which consist only of an index, do not add much to its substantial value; but he pro-

poses to increase the stock of information upon the same subjects in a future publication; though we should have thought that his Every-day Book and Table Book must have drained its sources completely dry. We do not propose to enter largely into an investigation of the sports of children, on which this work is so full and satisfactory, as to entitle its author to the lasting veneration of every school-boy. He has completely redeemed the dignity of their frolics, by tracing them back to a remote, if not a classical origin, with as much zeal, though far less bigotry, than Dr. Scriblerus before him. It may be, that boys are too thoughtless to regard this as an enhancement of their merit; but it seriously affects their estimation in the eyes of men. An unreflecting person might be disposed to think lightly of the accomplishment of riding upon a stick; but his views are changed, when he learns that it was a favorite pastime of the boys in the time of Augustus; and who does not at once perceive its philosophic dignity, when he learns that it was occasionally practised by Socrates and Agesilaus? Ball-playing has always stood rather higher in the public estimation; but it becomes venerable, when we see the father of history ascribing its invention to the Lydians, and Homer representing it as the amusement of the Princess of Corcyra and her maidens. But there is one circumstance connected with these sports, which is worthy of attentive observation. It is the fidelity with which they have been transmitted from one youthful generation to another, with scarcely any change in their progress; there is nothing like it in the affairs of men. Learned persons have differed on the question, whether the *Chytrinda* of the Greeks was the same game with our Hot-cockles, or Frog-in-the-middle; Arbuthnot assures us, that it is idle to maintain that it corresponded to the former, and Mr. Strutt is ready to die in the belief, that it answered perfectly to the latter; our poor opinion is, that there is no very momentous difference between the three. Virgil borrowed a well-known simile from the top, and trundling the hoop is generally believed to have been a favorite amusement among the Greeks and Romans; but here another controversy has arisen; as it is confidently asserted, though without much apparent reason, by some critics, that the hoop and top of the ancients were one and the same thing. It was some scruple upon this point, which induced Dr. Scriblerus to prohibit his son Martinus from playing with either.

Blind-man's buff, or Hood-man's blind, was played by the Greeks with a very slight variation from its present form; they were also extremely skilful in the accomplishment of hopping or sliding upon one leg. These are points upon which there is no dispute; and there is as little with respect to the Greek extraction of cross and pile, or what is known among us by the name of turning coppers, or the Roman origin of the game of odd and even. Augustus played in his youth with nuts in the same way as our boys with marbles. Aristophanes mentions the art of spinning chaffers; the Greek boys tied the string round the legs of the insect, while modern humanity attaches it by a crooked pin to the body. There are many sports, too, formerly in high repute, which would have perished from the earth, had they not been preserved by the young. The ball was originally used by the old and grave; afterwards, it became common to persons of all ages. Among the expenditures of Henry VII., there is an item of twelve-pence lost at tennis; and it has been thought worthy of commemoration, that St. Cuthbert acquired singular expertness at ball-playing in his boyhood. It is not known that the foot-ball was used by the ancients, though they sometimes played with a hand-ball, prepared in the same manner; but it was early adopted in England, where peas were sometimes inserted into it, to make the entertainment more musical. James I., who had an instinctive aversion to danger of all kinds, censured this amusement in strong terms, as involving peril of life and limb; but it was pursued on a large scale longer than most others, and the last we hear of it is in the song written by Sir Walter Scott in 1815, for the grand foot-ball match between the men of Ettrick and Yarrow. The quoit, though, if we may believe Dr. Johnson, it is not the *discus* of Homer's heroes, is plainly derived from it. Wrestling was once an art of no small importance. But civilization has crushed these sports and many others, like the car of Juggernaut; the attempts made to revive some of them under the appellation of gymnastics, have been attended with very transient success; the pious reverence of the young is all that rescues them from oblivion. We must, however, leave this attractive subject, in order to attend to the main business of our article; in which we propose to give some account of various observances, of which traces yet exist among us, as well as our materials will allow. Many of them have undergone such changes in

the course of centuries, as the inventive genius of man is apt to produce in every work of his hands. The writers upon them are not very numerous, and, in endeavoring to trace their origin, have sometimes been reduced to as much perplexity as the tailors in fitting the posture-master, when they confessed with tears in their eyes, that the task was beyond the competency of mortal shears.

Most of these sports and festivals, as well as observances of every kind, may be traced far back into antiquity, when they were generally connected with some religious ceremony; and, as might be expected, nothing could exceed the fervency of the public devotion. Almost every day in the year was a holiday of one kind or another. The free citizens of Greece and Rome appear to have led a very idle, gentlemanly sort of life; leaving all the hard work to be done by slaves, the mass of whom was so great in the Eternal City, that the Senate did not dare to number them, while they swarmed in Attica as they now do in the island of Grenada. A similar system prevailed under the feudal despotism of modern Europe; the wants of life were few, and easily supplied; the year was spent in pastime, because men had not discovered that there was any thing better for a community to do; until civilization corrected the error, and bound labor and comfort together. It is easy to conceive the influence which early associations must have given to these observances over the popular mind; it was so great, that it was found impossible to cast them away on the introduction of a purer faith; the early Christians, hopeless of effecting this, labored to divest them of their impurities, and consecrated them with a solemn lustration to the worship of the true God. There are many festivals in the old Romish calendar, which the progress of industry has done away, and many others, which have been deprived, by the same cause, of all traces of their former splendor, even in the countries where they were once most carefully observed; and it is a curious instance of the tenacity with which men cling to their ancient customs, that any vestiges of them at all are to be discovered here. They must be wholly traditional, as there is every reason to believe, that due diligence was early used to extirpate them. The situation of our fathers was not particularly favorable to merriment; and had it been otherwise, they would still have objected to these festivals, partly on account of their origin, and partly from their memory of some former

controversies. These controversies, which had been carried on for a long time previous to their emigration, respected the toleration of sports upon the Sabbath. They denounced, also, many other usages of a graver character, as heathenish and superstitious; though their success, as we shall have occasion to see, did not always correspond with their zeal and sincerity.

We do not know, that the vigil of the new year is at this time celebrated in England in any other way, than by ringing out the old year and ringing in the new; a practice of which some writers speak with satisfaction, as tending to revive many of their most delightful associations; but to those who have no such associations with it, we fear that music so unseasonable would excite other feelings than those of rapture. Formerly it was the custom for young girls to carry on that evening from door to door the wassail bowl of spiced ale, receiving presents in return for the courtesy; nor is it yet wholly laid aside. The term wassail, or *waes-hael*, was the phrase used by the Saxons in drinking to the health of others; so that the ceremony may be regarded as a formal method of expressing good wishes for the coming year. Neighbors were also in the habit of assembling in merry meetings, at which the recollection of all animosities was drowned in liberal draughts of the wassail; and saving the excess, the custom might probably be revived with advantage now. Here, the traces of all these observances, if they were ever known among us, appear to be wholly lost; while the faces of the gravest commonly brighten at the coming in of New Year's day,—the season of gifts and mutual congratulation,—when the most frugal are lavish of good wishes for the opening year; and it may be satisfactory to know, that all the ceremonies which we consider appropriate to the occasion, have been handed down to us from very remote antiquity; being coeval, as some say, with Romulus, and at all events, derived from ancient Rome. Prynne, in his Histrio-mastix, denounces the whole as 'a meere relique of Paganisme and Idolatry, derived from the heathen Romans' feast of two-faced Janus;' the Roman knights availed themselves of the occasion to make presents to Augustus; and an order of Tiberius is mentioned by Tacitus, prohibiting the giving or receiving of them at any other season. The ordinary congratulations were also liberally given, and the donation was of more value than it has been since; being universally regarded as an omen of good fortune. There was, however, one practice among

the Romans, which has fallen into disuse as a part of the observance; that of artisans working a little on New Year's day, either as a pledge of industry in their callings, or to show their respect for the day, as a French traveller declares himself to have exhibited his regard for the customs of this country, by entering a church on the Sabbath and remaining there five minutes. January was also the season of the *Saturnalia*, which were celebrated with every possible demonstration of riot and extravagance. Among the rites observed in honor of the Father of the gods, was the fashion of putting on the skins of wild beasts, by way of masquerade; this was retained by the early Christians, who used on New Year's day to run about masked, to the infinite terror of women and children, until their merriment was suddenly checked by a fearful anathema of Pope Zecharias. In fact, the early fathers labored diligently to exterminate all observance of the season, either from abhorrence of its occasional excess, or because they had a natural dislike of the source from which it was derived. They denounced the practice of wishing others a happy new year, and of making presents as pledges of good fortune, with as much zeal as the Covenanters objected to that of manufacturing wind by the winnowing machine, instead of waiting for the usual dispensation; but the popular prejudice was in this instance stronger than the terror of the Church; and it is curious to remark how universal the celebration has become, and how slight has been the variation in the mode of observing it. The early Saxons, who appear to have been less prodigal in the way of amusement than their neighbors, were in the habit of reckoning their age by the number of New Years' feasts which they had witnessed; the Druids, on the same occasion, scraped the mistletoe from the oak with great solemnity, and distributed it as a charm among the people; and the Jews, some centuries ago, were in the habit of making splendid entertainments at the beginning of their year, at which each, as he partook, expressed the wish that the year might be propitious to every guest. It has also found its way into countries, where it is less easy to explain its origin; the people of China and Japan are said to observe it with as much pomp, and nearly in the same manner, as those of European countries; while the Persians celebrate the vernal equinox by a New Year's festival, and make mutual presents of colored eggs with great solemnity. The practice of making presents and

of mutual congratulation on New Year's day, has been at all times duly regarded in England, though occasionally with some slight deviation from the ordinary mode. Matthew Paris records with indignation, that Henry III. was in the habit of impudently extorting rich presents on that day from the citizens of London. The worthy historian seems to forget, that these reluctant donors must have esteemed themselves remarkably fortunate, if they received no similar compliments on the other days of the year. In the time of Henry VIII. the custom was materially altered for the better. When his nobles sent him valuable presents, we learn that it was his humor to send something in requital of the obligation; though it does not appear that he made any acknowledgment of a New Year's present of Bishop Latimer, which consisted of a Bible with the leaf folded down at Hebrews xiii. 4. a passage in which pretty broad allusion is made to the king's private immorality. His son Edward VI. gave one year in this way, £155; a tolerable sum, considering the diminution since his time in the value of money. Queen Elizabeth's wardrobe was regularly supplied by contributions levied as New Year's presents, with somewhat more magnificence than the old song allows to that of King Stephen; every one gave something; twenty pounds were the allotted tribute of the highest temporal lord, and forty that of the highest of the lords spiritual; even officers of her household were not exempt from the obligation; we read, that her apothecary, among other things, gave her a pot of ginger candy, a more palatable donation than persons of that calling are in the habit of making; her butcher, a meat-knife with a dainty device; while Smyth, the dustman, not to be behind the rest, presented her majesty with two bolts of cambric. She conformed to the example of her father, so far as to make some return; but it is understood, that she was careful to keep the balance on her own side. After the reign of James I. we hear no more of this custom. We ought not to forget to mention, that towards the close of the fifteenth century, pins, which began to be esteemed by the ladies as more convenient than skewers, were an approved New Year's present, as were also rings, gilt nutmegs, and oranges stuck with cloves. Gloves were sometimes used for the same purpose; a pair containing forty angels, were sent by a lady to the Chancellor Sir Thomas More, as an acknowledgment for a decree in her favor; he intimated his willingness to keep the present, sending back the

lining. These gifts, and indeed the whole observance of the day, were objected to by the Puritans, as heathenish and superstitious in themselves, besides being extremely disreputable in their origin. We have already quoted the testimony of Prynne upon this subject, which is only an expression of the sentiments of the rest; but their censures were as ineffectual as were those of the early fathers. The rites of the occasion were still observed, though probably with more moderation than before, as we do not perceive that they are now at all objectionable on the score of morality. Annuals have nearly supplanted other presents, except in Paris, where the arts of the confectioner are largely put in requisition for the purpose of providing them; but the best part of the good old custom remains unchanged,—the expression of kind wishes for the happiness of those around us in the passing year.

It is painful to witness the distress of antiquaries, in attempting to explain the origin of the custom of sending persons on *sleeveless* or fool's errands on the first of April, which is generally known by the name of All Fools Day. These learned persons appear to have at length given up the task in utter despair; not, however, until they had practised the ceremonies of the day with signal success upon their readers. One of them traces the custom to the games instituted by Romulus in order to inveigle the Sabine women, which he supposes to have been established at this season of the year; another derives it from the burlesque election of Church dignitaries, and the strange pageant of which Scott has given a vivid description in the Abbot; while a third, soaring higher into antiquity than either of the others, attributes it to the mistake of Noah, in sending the dove from the ark before the waters had subsided, on the first day of the Hebrew month, which corresponds to April. These explanations can hardly be deemed very satisfactory; but they serve to show the difficulty of finding a rational one, as they would not be likely to be proposed, except in the absence of better. Mr. Brand found in an old Romish calendar a feast of old fools, which was there expressly stated to have been removed from some other day of the year to the first of November; he supposes the word 'all' to be a mere alteration of the northern word 'auld;' and whatever the young may think of it, there is no reason to believe that aged persons of this description would be so tenacious of their festival, as not to acquiesce in such a change without

repining; but the calendar gives no reason to believe, that the first of November was substituted for the first of April; so that the theory, however plausible, is still liable to some objections. Another account is given by Maurice in his Indian Antiquities, which like the rest, is founded wholly on conjecture. He believes that the first of April, being, according to the old style, very near the beginning of the year, was formerly considered as the season of rural sports and the pleasures of Spring; and that the custom in question is merely a relic of the sports which were common on that occasion. He traces the Huli festival among the Hindoos, which is observed by all classes in precisely the same manner as All Fools Day, to an ancient practice of celebrating the recurrence of the vernal equinox. Without troubling our readers with any more attempts to explain the origin of a custom, whose pretensions to dignity are derived solely from its antiquity, we may remark, that there are few for which men appear to have entertained a more tender regard; it seems to have been every where observed in one form or another. Fools are made in Sweden on the first of April; there prevails in Scotland a long established practice of 'hunting the gowk'; and there is a similar one in Lisbon on the Sunday and Monday preceding Lent. The name '*Poisson d'Avril*,' or April Fish, which was applied to Napoleon on his marriage to Maria Louisa, because it took place on the first of that month, is used by the French in the same manner as our 'April Fool'; but its etymology is entirely unknown. We find many allusions to the custom in the English poets of the last century; it is also mentioned in the Spectator; but it is not in the power of genius to render it either dignified or poetical. The early English writers have not, so far as we know, noticed it at all. Among us, it can hardly be said to be retained, except as an amusement of the young.

We are naturally not unwilling to turn from this festival, if festival it can be called, to one whose return was hailed with universal welcome on the first of May. This was regarded as the boundary, which separated the reign of winter from the season of fruits and flowers; and the heart appears every where to have expanded under its sweet influences. The returning splendor of summer was celebrated by the northern nations with rustic feasts and dances; among the Goths and southern Swedes it was honored by a mock battle between the

seasons, in which the forces of winter were sure to be put to flight; and the moon of May was poetically styled by the Indians of this continent the moon of flowers. Our English ancestors observed the first of May as the period of a great rural festival, which nature herself assisted to celebrate, by displaying on this occasion the earliest verdure of the purple year; but it should be remembered, that it did not formerly occur at precisely the same time that it does now; the alteration of the style in the middle of the last century has unluckily carried it nearer by a fortnight to the dominions of winter. Lovibond's 'Tears of Old May-day' was written to express his mournful foreboding of the consequences of the change. It has been stated, we know not on what authority, that the ancient Britons were wont to hold anniversary meetings on the first of May, at which they canvassed the conduct of their kings and rulers, and continued them in office or deposed them according to their demeanor during the preceding year; and that the day continued to be observed by their descendants as a festival, long after the doctrine of divine right had destroyed all memory of the good old republican custom; but there is every reason to believe, that the origin of the rites of May-day was earlier and more classical than this. They are more probably derived from the *Floralia*, games instituted by the Romans in honor of Flora, the presiding deity of fruits and flowers; though we grieve to say, that these orgies more closely resembled those of St. Bartholomew's fair, than the simple expression of gratitude and happiness, which the season was naturally fitted to inspire. When they descended to the early Christians, they assumed a purer and more attractive form; nothing of the heathen custom being retained, but the gathering of flowers and branches, which were brought home to decorate the doors and windows of their houses. For centuries afterwards, they appear to have undergone little change. There is scarcely an English poet, who does not dwell with pleasure upon these simple customs; many have given us descriptions of the May-day festival; but that of worthy old Stow is by far the most poetical of all. 'On May-day in the morning,' says he, 'every man, except impediment, would walke into the sweete meadows and greene woods, there to rejoice their spirits with the beauty and savour of sweete flowers, and with the harmony of birds praysing God in their kind.' In Chaucer's Court of Love, the court are represented as going forth early on May

morning, 'to fetch the flouris fresh, and branch, and blome.' Spenser gives the following animated description of the same ceremony:

> 'Then to the greene-wood they speeden them all,
> To fetchen home May with their musicall:
> And home they bringen, in a royall throne,
> Crowned as king; and his queen attone
> Was Lady Flora, on whom did attend
> A faire flock of faeries, and a fresh bend
> Of lovely nymphs. Oh that I were there
> To helpen the ladies their May-bush beare!'

It was an ancient practice for large companies of persons of all ages to rise a little after midnight on May-day, and march forth with music to the wood, where they gathered branches of trees and flowers, which they brought home in triumph, and placed in the doors and windows of their houses. Henry VIII. and his queen were wont to go forth early with bows and arrows to the forest, to bring home the May; and the same custom was observed by the court, so lately as the reign of James I. We do not wonder, that Shakspeare in his Midsummer-Night's Dream, has spoken of the difficulty of sleeping on May-morning; it must have been pretty serious at Oxford, when the boys were accustomed to blow hollow canes and cow-horns all night. But the music in general was more appropriate to the occasion; though it appears to have been boisterous enough to remind us of the penalty which we pay for freedom on the morning of the fourth of July.

The May-pole, or *Mai*, as it is called in France, was sometimes permitted to stand through the year, like that which Mr. Irving saw with so much pleasure on the banks of the Dee. Most commonly, it was erected for the occasion; being brought home early from the wood, gorgeously painted and covered with garlands, and accompanied by the multitude marching in solemn procession to the sound of music. Its top was decorated with banners and streamers; arbors and bowers were prepared in the vicinity of the place where it was erected, and the rest of the day was spent in dancing round it, and in every other species of rustic revelry. The sport was not confined to the country; the citizens of London were accustomed to erect their May-poles in various parts of the city, where, as a Puritan writer remarks, they 'felle to leape and daunce round about them, as the heathen people did at the dedication of their

idols, whereof this is the perfect patterne, or rather the thyng itself.' The Puritans denounced this celebration, not merely because they considered it a relic of idolatry, but because it was tolerated on the Sabbath day; nor does it appear that their hostility to it was without effect; for in the time of Edward VI. the people were so wrought upon by a sermon of one of them, that they seized a huge old May-pole, which had been quietly lying for years in one of the streets of London, and made a bonfire of it. Somewhat later, another of their writers was induced to write a book upon the subject, because he saw 'that even in Cheapside itself the rude rabble had set up this ensign of prophaneness, and had put the Lord-Mayor to the trouble of seeing it pulled down.' For many years afterwards, the luckless May-pole alternately sunk and rose like the banner of Lord Marmion at Flodden. King James I. and his successor, probably in defiance of the Puritans, ordained that the people should be at liberty to set them up and dance round them on the Sabbath, as well as to pursue all other recreations, not expressly prohibited by law; but the Long Parliament levelled a serious blow at 'alle and singular May-poles,' by inflicting a penalty upon civil officers, proportioned to the length of time they should suffer them to stand. Not long after this, royal Government and the May-poles were restored together; and the prodigious May-pole which Pope mentions as having 'once o'erlooked the Strand,' was raised with great ceremony under the royal auspices. It is recorded 'that it highly pleased his majesty, and the illustrious Prince Duke of York; little children did much rejoice, and antient people did clap their hands, saying, golden days began to appear.' We are told that Dr. Parr was accustomed to dance round the May-pole, which was erected opposite his residence at Hatton. One would think that the admiration of the people at this exhibition, would have been expressed in much the same manner with that just mentioned.

We cannot omit to mention the Morris dancers, those ancient favorites of merry England, who were the charm of many festivals, but were animated to the highest efforts of their art on this. History has not been just to the memory of these popular idols; she has left us in the dark, not only in regard to their number, but as respects the origin of their art itself. They appear to have performed a Moorish dance, introduced early into England, with alterations to adapt it to the prevailing taste,

which still survives in Spain under the appellation of *fandango*. It had been usual from an early period to elect a King and Queen, or Lord and Lady of the May; and popular tradition was subsequently resorted to, to increase the splendor of the May-day festival, and Robin Hood and his merry companions re-appeared in the Morris dance. The bold outlaw himself was honored with the title of King of the May; Matilda, the lady of his love, better known by her assumed name of Maid Marian, was the acknowledged Queen; while the other characters of the dance were Friar Tuck, in whom our readers may recognise the Holy Clerk of Copmanhurst, the Fool, whose public functions have of late fallen into disrepute, Tom the piper, a general representative of the followers of the Joyous Science, the Hobby-horse, who edified the people by his ambles under the disguise denoted by his name, and Stokesley, Scarlet, and Little John, the inseparable companions of Robin Hood. The Dragon was sometimes, though more rarely, of the company; in fact, all these characters were not uniformly included in the dance; but Maid Marian, with her crown of gold, purple coif, red surcoat, blue cuffs, yellow skirts, carnation sleeves, red stomacher, and yellow lace in cross bars, was always conspicuous in the ceremony, and usually saluted as Queen of the May; a distinction fairly earned by the exhibition of so much splendor. Mr. Douce, in his Illustrations of Shakspeare and of ancient manners, inclines to the opinion, that the royal office, upon this occasion, was elective; and that Robin Hood and his companions were not essentially of the number of the Morris dancers. His opinion derives some confirmation from a remark of the wife of Robert Bruce in her adversity, that they should thenceforth be of no more account than the Kings and Queens who led the dances round the village May-pole; for she would hardly have thought of levelling her fortunes to the standard of those of Maid Marian, and it will be perceived, from the account we have already given, that the remark would have lost much of its pathos in such an application. But such a fall would have hardly been greater than that which afterwards befel Maid Marian herself; in the time of Queen Elizabeth she was so degraded from her high estate, that her part was personated by rude clowns, and her name converted into an epithet of ridicule and reproach. Before this time, the pageant was so alluring, that its expense was defrayed by the various parishes. The records of one of them which yet

remain, give an example of this, which hardly justifies the notion, that the trappings of royalty would defray the whole expenditure of a republic; as in the reign of Henry VII., eightpence were appropriated for a gown for the lady, and a shilling for her privy purse; while some years afterwards, the spunging and brushing of 'Robin-Hode's cotys' came to no more than two-pence. When the Puritans made war upon this pageant, it had probably degenerated into a boisterous farce. With some labor, though gradually, they accomplished their purpose; for though King James's Book of Sports recognised Maid Marian and the Hobby-horse, without regard to the claims of Robin and Friar Tuck, the Long Parliament did not hesitate to demolish the whole. The ancient importance of Robin Hood is shown by a sermon of Bishop Latimer, in which he observes, that he once sent word into a town over night, that he would preach there the next morning; but upon going at the hour appointed, with the expectation of seeing a large audience collected, he found the church-door locked. 'I tarryed there,' says he, 'halfe an houre and more; at last the key was found, and one of the parish comes to me, and sayes; "Syr, this is a busy day with us, we cannot heare you; this is Robin Hoode's day; the parish is gone abroad to gather for Robin Hoode. I pray you let them not." I was fayne therefore to give place to Robin Hoode. I thought my rochet should have been regarded, though I were not; but it would not serve, but was fayne to give place to Robin Hoode's men.' The only recent account of Morris dancers in England, is contained in a note to Reed's edition of Shakspeare, which states, that they are yet occasionally seen on May-day, and that the Hobby-Horse still figures by the side of the Lord and Lady, the modern representatives of Robin Hood and Maid Marian.

The alteration of the style, as we have already said, has rendered the beginning of May less propitious to the observance of the customary rites than before; but with us, the power of tradition may be seen in the interest with which many look forward to the return of that season, though there is little left to remind us of the ancient ceremonies of the day. In fact, the few flowers which are then to be gathered are not always a sufficient indemnity for the united perils of east-wind and cold; yet when we remember that bathing the face in May-dew is an infallible specific to give and preserve beauty, it is rather singular, that so few are found, who are willing to en-

counter them. The ladies of a century ago did not hesitate for trifles. We find the following entry in Secretary Pepys's diary: 'My wife away down with Jane and W. Hewer to Woolwich, in order to a little ayre, and to lie there to-night, and so to gather May-dew to-morrow morning, which Mrs. Turner has told her is the only thing in the world to wash her face with; and I am contented with it.' Few vestiges of the old mode of celebration remain in Europe. Miss Edgeworth gives us reason to believe, that the children in the English villages are yet in the habit of electing a Queen of the May; and in the Isle of Man, a remnant of the old custom is preserved in a mock battle between the troops of two persons, dressed so as to represent summer and winter; but in general, the whole observance has fallen sadly into decay. The chimney-sweepers of London, however, as if in scorn, still choose a King and Queen of the May, and dance to the music of a solitary fiddle.

Before the revolutionary war, it was customary to celebrate the fifth of November, or the anniversary of what was called the 'Gunpowder Plot.' The custom was borrowed from England, where Guy Fawkes, who seems to have received rather more than his share of popular honor, was the hero of the occasion; his effigy, with a dark lantern in one hand, and a bundle of matches in the other, being borne round in solemn procession during the day, to the music of an appropriate song, and burnt with great pomp in the evening. The practice is not yet wholly forgotten by the boys of London; though the police of that city regularly threaten both the usage, and the lawless youth who pursue it, with a fate not unlike that which Guy himself intended for the Parliament. When it came to this country, it seems to have received a material improvement by the addition of certain ceremonies, which in England were appropriated to the seventeenth of November, the anniversary of Queen Elizabeth's accession; when the effigies of the Devil and the Pope were regularly carried about and burnt in the same manner as Guy Fawkes, until, in the time of Queen Anne, that of the Pretender was added to the group. Here they were united on the fifth of November; and it was not unusual for various parties to have their separate Popes, who were used as standards to animate them to battle, as were the Guys in the mother country. There was nothing very romantic in the celebration, and the hereditary prejudice against the Catholic faith alone

would have induced the community to tolerate it so long; for it seems to have been tolerated, though it was at best nothing more than a rude amusement of young men and boys. The whole was laid aside prior to our Revolution, when this prejudice had in a great degree subsided, and the memory of the Pretender began to be looked upon with a more favorable eye.

So much has been written of late concerning the mode of observing Christmas, that we shall only allude to that part of it which is retained here, the decoration of churches and houses with evergreens. Like the rest of our customs, this, though there is nothing very heathenish in it, is borrowed from the heathens, who adorned their temples and houses in the same manner at the winter solstice. The Druids had a curious reason for the same usage; they considered these ornaments as a refuge for the sylvan spirits, until the return of a milder season should permit them to resort to their usual habitations. Some of the early councils made it the subject of a prohibitory edict, but without much effect; as it prevailed universally in England very early, and was never omitted among the Christmas ceremonies. Every plant which remained green through the winter was considered appropriate to the occasion, except the mistletoe, which was regarded with aversion, from the use which had been formerly made of it in the Druidical festivals; laurel, ivy, holly, and occasionally cypress and yew, were the most approved.

These observances are the only old ones, which appear to be very generally remembered in this country; but, in the absence of others, we have two of our own institution, which it were superfluous to describe;—the day appointed for Thanksgiving in autumn, by no means wanting in pleasing associations for the people of New England, and the Fourth of July, which has worthily taken the place of St. Ulric's festival, the patron saint of fish. With these exceptions, our festivals are occasional, and somewhat rare; but if they have no claims on the score of antiquity, the manner in which they are celebrated, setting aside the public dinner, which, in its present form, may be looked upon as one of the great achievements of modern invention, is in tolerable conformity with ancient usage, so far, at least, as it affects the eye and ear. The merit of introducing bell-ringing, bonfires, and illuminations, rightfully belongs to our ancestors; the art of public rejoicing has improved little during the last century in point of brilliancy or vociferation.

We look upon the bell as one of the earliest, as well as most popular of our musical instruments. The Romans are understood to have used small ones in their baths and places of business; but the honor of inventing the large church-bell is generally ascribed to no less a personage than the Bishop of Nola, who may be emphatically said to have flourished in the fifth century. The praise of this venerable ecclesiastic was soon in all the churches; the bells, when first set up, were solemnly consecrated by the clergy, with a ceremony which was generally called baptism; but which they explained to be nothing more than a benediction accompanied with the conferring of a name, by which they were always distinguished afterwards. This ceremony implied that they were supposed to possess some important virtues; and it is certain, that many properties were ascribed to them of a very remarkable nature. All evil spirits were understood to entertain an insurmountable aversion to their music; we learn from Wynkyn de Worde, that it threw the fiends into such perplexity, that a single flourish would cause them to decamp with amazing expedition. They were regularly rung during the continuance of high winds and thunder-storms, which were believed to be produced by malignant demons; and as they continued to ring so long as these phenomena lasted, it is not surprising that they should have received the credit of putting an end to them. This practice was not forgotten so late as the middle of the last century. Another property attributed to them, was that of clearing the air during the prevalence of epidemic disorders. It is not improbable, that their virtue was believed to be proportioned to their size; as we hear of an old bell at Canterbury, which took twenty-four men to ring it, and another which required thirty-two; both of these seem to have been modelled after the seven bells of Pekin, which Father Lecomte assures us, weighed upwards of fifty tons each. But the most remarkable of all their properties was that of locomotion;—it was thought necessary, whenever a bell was removed, to secure it with a rope or chain, and to ring it regularly every evening, in order to prevent it from returning to its old place of residence. In England, the passion for bells prevailed very early; St. Dunstan presented several to Malmesbury Abbey; the Abbot of Croyland, in the time of King Edgar, made six bells, which were named after distinguished personages, and such a concert, adds the historian, was never before heard in

the land. A very old English picture represents King David striking with two hammers on several little bells, instead of his harp. Heutzner describes the English at the close of the sixteenth century, as 'vastly fond of great noises that fill the eare, such as the firing of cannon, beating of drums, and the ringing of bells; so that it is common for a number of them that have got a glasse in their heads to get up into some belfry and ringe the bells for hours together for the sake of exercise.' He does not appear to be aware, that the art of ringing was an important accomplishment; it was not uncommon for eminent persons to pique themselves upon their skill. Ringing a single bell was the work of a novice, who gradually advanced in proficiency to a peal of *grandsires* upon five; the perfection of the art consisting in accomplishing a *bob-maximus* upon twelve. The practice of ringing upon occasions of public rejoicing is derived from an early usage of the Catholics, who thus gave notice of the arrival of a church dignitary within their jurisdiction; and it was regarded as a high offence in a priest, if he suffered the bells to be silent whenever such an event occurred. A similar compliment was paid to distinguished persons on passing through English villages. The people, as if distrusting their own ability to make sufficiently audible demonstrations of satisfaction, have been for centuries in the habit of calling the church-bells to their assistance.

Bonfires are a much more ancient mode of rejoicing; there is much less doubt in regard to their antiquity, than as respects the origin of the name. Fire, as is well known, was liberally used in the worship of several of the pagan deities, particularly Baal; and similar rites in honor of the sun and fire, are said to have been observed in some parts of Ireland half a century ago. Apollo was also worshipped by an attempt to imitate his own light. All the Gothic tribes were accustomed to kindle large fires on the tops of hills at the summer solstice, in honor of the same luminary, and to pursue all kinds of amusement around them; and a similar usage made a part of the great festivals of the Druids. The Christians adopted it, and used it on various occasions, but principally on Midsummer-eve, the same season to which it had been appropriated before; when the various ceremonies of the vigil of St. John were practised by the light of what they were the first to call bonfires. This was the most brilliant of all the old English festivals; the fires were kindled

early in the evening in every village, and in the streets of the cities; young girls stole forth at midnight to gather the St. John's-wort, in order to penetrate one, at least, of the important secrets of futurity, while the bold adventured to gather the magical fern-seed, in defiance of evil spirits, who guarded it from violation; the midsummer watch was set with all possible splendor; and the houses were decorated with the salutary fennel, orpin, and birch. It may serve to reconcile our youth to the modern uses of this last valuable plant, to know that it has long been regarded as possessed of magic powers. The fires used on this occasion had an apology which ours have not; being used partly for the purpose of purifying the atmosphere from the infection produced by the myriads of evil spirits, who were accustomed to convert the evening into a festival of their own; and hence the name of *bon*, or good fire, according to some; while others are disposed to change the orthography, and adopt the explanation given by an old homily, which declares, that 'in worship of Saint Johan the people waked at home and made three manner of fyres, one was clene bones and noo woode, and that is called a bone fyre.' These were, undoubtedly, the prototypes of our modern bonfires; and we may, probably, trace the practice of illumination to the setting of the watch on Midsummer-eve, to which allusion has just been made. The marching watch, or those who paraded the streets, were furnished with cressets, or huge lanterns fixed to the end of poles and carried on the shoulder; and lamps of glass suspended on curiously wrought branches of iron, were placed before the doors of the wealthy citizens upon this and some other festivals. The illumination of windows was naturally delayed until glass windows became common, a period long subsequent to the Reformation; but it seems to have been no where carried to so high a degree of perfection as in Italy. Fireworks are scarcely heard of before the reign of Henry VIII.; when some rude ones were exhibited on the Thames at the coronation of Anne Boleyn. Those of Kenilworth have been duly commemorated by the animated pen of Master Laneham; and when Queen Elizabeth visited the Earl of Hertford at Elvetham, she was gratified by similar exhibitions. In the time of James I. the fireworks, though highly applauded by the writers of the time, consisted only of wheels, fire-trees and rockets, or squibs and crackers attached

to a pole, with which men combatted pasteboard dragons 'vomitting of fire like verie furies;' in all respects inferior to the fire-works of the present day.

Our funeral customs have uniformly been few and simple; equally removed from state and ceremony on the one hand, and ridiculous affectation on the other. They are in general such as our fathers left them; who thought it unbecoming and vain to attempt to add to the force and impressiveness of things spiritual, by appealing through the senses to the heart. These sentiments sprung not unnaturally from their situation and character. They felt the presence of the Divinity in the humblest place where pardon could be asked for sin; and nothing of human state, or ornament, or decoration, could have added to the dignity and power of such a conviction. So when the spirit had deserted the remains of perishing nature, they regarded it as a mockery to lavish honors upon the body as it was committed to the dust. There are many who maintain, that these are not the sentiments which nature teaches; that the fires of all intense feeling, like those of the altar, must be first kindled by human hands. We do not pretend to say, which of these opinions accords best with what we know of our nature; we simply state the reason, why some of the funeral ceremonies, which are elsewhere looked upon as the most affecting, are known hardly by tradition to us. Nor are the few which we retain, original; like most others, they are borrowed from the mother country. We do not know, that the tolling of the passing, or soul bell, as it was sometimes called, at the hour of death, is at this time practised in any of our towns; though several years ago, it was retained in some which adhered to the usages of the English church. It survived in England, long after the superstitious ideas formerly connected with it had been entirely forgotten; and appears to have been coeval with the earliest introduction of the church-bell. It is related by Bede, that when the Abbess of St. Hilda was at the last extremity, a sister of a very distant monastery heard at midnight the well-known bell, which summoned the religious to pray for the dying. This was one of the purposes for which the passing bell was tolled; but it was also designed to warn the priest to perform the last offices enjoined by the Catholic ritual; and it is mentioned by a very old writer upon the subject of religious ceremonies, as the trumpet of the church militant, intended,

according to a superstition which we have already mentioned, to drive away the evil spirits which were waiting at the bedside of the dying, as well as to invoke the prayers of all good Christians for the parting soul. In the English Church, it was preserved as an ancient custom, founded on no good reason and strongly objected to by many of its members, on account of the alarm excited by its peal at midnight. Tolling when the body was borne to the grave is quite as ancient, and has undergone little variation, except that its duration was formerly proportioned to the age and sex of the deceased. It was the custom of the heathens, as it has since been of all Christians, to accompany the corpse to the place of interment in solemn procession; in England, this has sometimes been done to the music of a simple hymn, the effect of which is described by some writers as extremely solemn and affecting; a more common usage was to carry evergreens in the hands, which were deposited in the grave. Allusion is made in an old tragedy to the custom of crowning the sepulchre

> 'with olive, myrrh, and bayes,
> The plants of Peace, of Sorrow, Victorie.'

These were intended as emblems of the soul's immortality; the bay, in particular, was considered one of the most striking, because it would revive, when seemingly dead, from the root, and resume its wonted verdure. The funeral sermon, or oration, was known in ancient times; it was less common in Rome than in Greece, where it was frequently delivered in memory of the eminent, or those who had fallen in battle. Some fine specimens are still extant, in discourses of the fathers of the Christian church in remembrance of the martyrs. The position of the body in the grave is derived, obviously without intention, from the usages of the Catholic and English churches. Any individual travelling through New England will perceive, that it is commonly laid with the head towards the West. Durand, a very old writer upon the ceremonies of the Catholic Church, in treating of the burial of the dead, observes, that they were laid with the feet toward the East, and the head toward the West; in which posture they were in readiness to hasten from the setting to the rising sun; from time to eternity. A different direction, that of North and South, was regarded as dishonorable, and a mark of guilt or disgrace. In Martin's Month's Mind, published in 1589, where

an account is given of the funeral of Martin Mar-prelate, it is observed, that 'he would not be laid East and West (for he went ever against the haire) but North and South; and in Cymbeline, Guiderius is represented as saying over the lifeless body of Imogen, 'Nay, Cadwal, we must lay his head to the East; my father has a reason for't. It is recorded of the antiquary Hearne, that he left injunctions to have his grave made East and West, according to the compass. Bede insists, that such was the position of our Saviour in the tomb; Sir Thomas Browne speaks of it as the one uniformly adopted in England; 'we decline,' says he, 'the religious consideration, but, to avoid confusion, have adopted the Athenian custom;' the same which we have described. In early times, and in some countries at the present day, the last and most touching tribute of affection was paid, by fondly strewing flowers on the grave. Virgil refers to this simple custom, in his lines on the death of Marcellus; the English poets are full of allusions to it. Sweet-scented flowers only were considered proper for this purpose; but nettles and other dishonorable plants were sometimes thrown in scorn, or planted upon the grave of an enemy; and garlands, generally composed of artificial flowers, were suspended in the churches in memory of friends. We have nothing to remind us that such a custom was ever known abroad, except the descriptions given of it by travellers and writers. That of erecting stones at the grave, inscribed with the name and character of the deceased, has descended to us from very remote antiquity.

We now turn to the appropriate conclusion of the drama; but the simplicity of our ancestors is plainly seen at this day in that of the marriage ceremony, wherever their mode of religious worship prevails. When they came to this country, they brought with them a very unfavorable recollection of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction they had left behind; and it was this which induced them to render the marriage contract so exclusively civil, that clergymen were not even allowed to perform the nuptial ceremony, until the introduction of the provincial charter. It was previously performed by civil officers, as it may be now. In depriving the ceremony of its religious character, they put an end to many customs, which had once been connected with it; we know not, indeed, that they retained any; the few which remain may have been imported more recently; but however this may be, they are most of

them very ancient. The wedding or bride-cake, is a signal improvement upon a part of the old Roman ceremony of confarreation, or a verbal marriage contract, executed in the presence of ten witnesses, on which occasion the bride and bridegroom partook of a cake composed of flour, salt, and oil. In England, it has always been composed of a more luxurious assortment of ingredients; in some instances it was broken at the altar over the head of the bride, and the fragments made the subject of a general scramble; but most commonly, pieces of it were passed nine times through the wedding ring, as a charm to enable the young to ascertain in dreams how soon a similar fortune awaited them. The wedding ring was anciently regarded as a pledge of faith, and was worn by the Greeks and Romans upon the third finger of the left hand, because a small artery was believed to establish an intimate connexion between that finger and the heart; though a less sentimental reason is assigned for this usage by some, who pronounce this finger better calculated than the rest to preserve the ring from injury, because it is the only one which cannot be extended alone. Among the Northern nations, a knot, as well as a ring, was a symbol of plighted faith; hence the top-knots or bridal favors, which were once distributed in great profusion at weddings, and worn in the hat for some weeks afterwards. The Anglo-Saxons appointed bride-maids and bride-groom's men to accompany the parties to the church; but the old English custom appears to have been to put the bridegroom under the protection of the bride-maids for the same purpose, while the bride-knights, as they were called, accompanied the bride. Those who attended her to the church were bachelors; but she was expected to return under the more experienced escort of married men. In the time of Henry VIII. it was usual for one of them to precede her, bearing a vessel of silver or gold; and flowers, of which rosemary, primroses, maiden's blushes and violets were esteemed most appropriate, were liberally strewed before her. A morose old writer, probably a bachelor, states, that 'she takes it by tradition from her gossips, that she must weepe shoures upon her marriage day;' and more than intimates, that artificial means were used to extract the tears, which the heart had no disposition to bestow. It is asserted by another, that 'in some countries, the bride was crowned by the matrons with a garland of prickles and delivered to her husband, that hee might know hee hath tyed himself to a thorny pleasure;' but the

reason assigned may be nothing more than the suggestion of his own experience. After the ceremony, the day was commonly devoted to sport and feasting. There was a custom among the Anglo-Saxons, which, fifty years ago, was in remarkable preservation here; the youth amused themselves with dancing, while 'the ancient sate down to a drinking-bout, in which they highly delighted.' The game of quintain was once fashionable in England upon this occasion. A horizontal bar was attached to a perpendicular one, and turned freely upon a pivot in the centre; on one end of it was placed a target, and at the other a bag of sand; the assailant on horseback, rode full at the target with his lance, and 'the speciality of the sport,' according to Master Laneham, 'was to see how some for his slacknesse had a good bob with the bag, and some for his haste to topple downright, and come tumbling to the post.' A country bridal was one of the sports exhibited for the amusement of Queen Elizabeth at Kenilworth. It would be an endless task, however, to give an account of the wedding customs of different countries; perhaps the strangest of all is one described by Park in his travels in Africa; he was awakened at midnight to receive a present from a bride, which consisted of a well-filled bowl dashed directly in his face, and which he was somewhat at a loss to know in what manner to receive, until informed that it was a mark of particular favor. The wedding serenade was known, in rather a rude form, two centuries ago. Misson, an old traveller in England, after describing the nuptial ceremony, adds; 'If the drums and fiddles have notice of it, they are sure to be with them, making a horrible racket, till they have got the pence;' and a vivid idea of this compliment may be formed, by examining one of Hogarth's pictures of the Industrious and Idle Apprentice.

We have thus attempted, in a very imperfect and cursory manner, to illustrate some of those festivals and customs which have come down to us, like mutilated fragments of antiquity. Our limits will not permit us even to allude to a vast number of them; they would hardly be sufficient for the full description of any one. The subject may not be generally regarded as entitled to much consideration, and the attention may doubtless be directed to many of a graver and more imposing character; but in the relation which it bears to the investigation of ancient manners and modes of life, it is at least as valuable as most other subjects of antiquarian inquiry.

ART. IX.—*Harvard University.*

Letter to Governor Lincoln in Relation to Harvard University. By F. C. GRAY. *Second Edition, with an Appendix.* Boston. Carter, Hendee & Babcock. 1831.

The author of this pamphlet, who is a member of the Corporation of Harvard College, has undertaken to defend that institution against certain charges which have lately been made upon it in the newspapers. The work is written with great ability, candor, and vivacity, and has been, we believe, very generally satisfactory to unprejudiced readers. Of the charges alluded to, the most important is that of *sectarianism* in religion; and the reply to it occupies a pretty large portion of Mr. Gray's pages. We cannot, however, follow him in this discussion, which is too closely connected with the theological controversies of the day, to suit the purposes of this journal. The two points, to which we shall chiefly direct our attention, are the economy of the college, and the state of its library. The Corporation, it seems, have been accused, on the one hand, of excessive prudence in the husbandry of their resources, and on the other, of appropriating too large a portion of them to the augmentation of the library. These charges are not, on the face of them, very plausible, nor even very consistent with each other; and if the enemies of the college can find nothing worse to allege against it, its friends and the public have, perhaps, reason to suppose that its concerns are pretty well managed.

It is the singular and peculiar fortune of Cambridge College to be connected with the earliest history of the country, and identified with the progress of its liberties. Its influence was national; pervading not New England only, but all the Colonies; co-extensive with the firm maintenance of piety and the general regard for the interests of science. It may be questioned, whether it was not an important element in the formation of the character, which terminated in the struggle for independence. Other institutions may, perhaps, come to be more munificently endowed, more numerously attended: but none can ever rival it in the crowd of grateful and deeply interesting associations which belong to Harvard College, as the cherished child of the pilgrims, venerable from its age, almost coeval with the landing of the Fathers.

The whole country has a continued interest in the permanent success of an institution, which was commenced under such auspices. We may all claim that it should be administered in a spirit of just liberality, that its benefits should be dispassionately distributed, that its principles should be elevated above the control of political factions or religious parties, and that its steady advancement should be promoted in proportion to the rapid increase of our national wealth, population, moral influences and responsibilities. And we hold it to be a self-evident maxim, that all this cannot be accomplished without the exercise of a vigilant economy.

Where there is no spirit of thrift, generosity is sure to defeat itself; and an inconsiderate enthusiasm works its own ruin, however pure and exalted may be its purposes. It is a beautiful fable, which tells us of the bird that freely strikes wounds into its breast for the nurture of its brood; and, we doubt not, many a young mother would cheerfully lay down her life for her child. But our *Alma Mater* is in the custody of her sons; and their piety would surely never allow her to languish from the thoughtless excesses of her liberality. Dollars and cents are, after all, the main instrument of efficient action; and thrift is the main support of temporal prosperity. Without thrift, private charity would run rapidly to the condition of the unavailing exercise of a barren good will; and there could be no large expenditures for public charities, no munificent endowment of the sciences, no careful and sufficient provision for the infirm, the aged, and the insane; no continued and untiring appropriations for the diffusion of religion. It is the thrift of New England, which has enabled her thus far, in proportion to her numbers and resources, to contribute to public uses more than any portion of the world; to contribute voluntarily and steadily; to contribute cheerfully and lavishly; and yet to retain her energies unimpaired, or rather to find them refreshed and invigorated by the sacrifice. Hence it is, that so much good has sprung from our barren soil. It was in our Eastern sky, that the star of missionary enterprise first arose; it was here, that the universal establishment of common schools was wisely designed and most happily executed; and it is here, that new associations are perpetually forming for diffusing the blessings of civilization and the influence of religion.

We cannot perceive why the same duty of economy is not

binding upon those, who are the organs for administering the funds, that are devoted to the public exigencies. The general advantage seems rather specially to require the wise and discreet administration of its resources. A lavish expenditure would rapidly impoverish. It forces an individual to humiliating condescensions or downright meannesses, and, by the operation of corresponding causes, it brings public institutions to a pinching parsimony, or,—and we have had an example in America,—to a declared and hopeless bankruptcy. The unrestrained expenditure which we condemn, is twice accursed; it subverts the foundations of prosperity already laid, and it deters the benevolent from intrusting their contributions to hands which will scatter their munificence. A wise economy, on the contrary, tempts to co-operation. Men readily assist, where a little only is required for the accomplishment of a great purpose; and thus the governors of a public institution are enabled to foster and sustain every important interest intrusted to their watchfulness, to provide for unforeseen contingencies, to prepare resources against the wastes and the hazards of time. All their movements are marked by freedom and cheerfulness. Under such an administration, the prospect is constantly enlivened by the consciousness of present success and increasing improvement. There is no sinking of the heart before the darkening scowl of anticipated want.

We do not advocate that narrow saving, which chills the expanding efforts at improvement; and, like a season of drought, destroying excellence in the germ, prevents the developement of that, which, in the issue, would itself have been productive. Such saving is not economy, but a wasteful timidity, a barren poverty of judgment. The economy we commend is a wise husbandry of resources, a perpetual vigilance, admitting neither want nor waste; a constant reference to the enlarging circumstances of the country; and a resolute determination to transmit the College to the next generation in as good a situation as its present one, and, if possible, in a situation somewhat better, not abstractly only, but *relatively*, not merely in the aggregate of its endowments and its fixtures, but in reference to the multiplied resources and demands of the country. A sinking fund is a common idea when a nation is in debt. There must be at the College an accumulating fund, or, otherwise, the rapid progress of the rest of the nation will leave Cambridge largely in arrears. The income of that accumu-

lating fund might then be invested, and the annual proceeds of it appropriated to contingent expenses. In this way the College would, as it were, make to itself out of its own revenues a new donation annually, and as the Corporation lives forever, —may the incumbents live to a green old age!—it would eventually be placed on a basis suited to the dignity of the State, and the demands of the community. There is no danger, that the College will have too much money to appropriate, unless it is led astray to found scholarships and set a bounty on literary indolence. Heaven preserve us from such a consummation! But there will forever remain modes of appropriation consistent with the necessity of personal exertions, and directly beneficial to the sciences. Centuries and centuries will roll away, and the task of perfectly organizing a University with all its appropriate fixtures will remain incomplete. There will be enough to do, before its observatories will

> ———rightly spell
> Of every star that Heaven doth show;

before its garden will contain every flower that sips the dews of our northern climate, and its green-house hold specimens of all the splendid herbs of the tropics; before its cabinet will have gathered from every sea-shore, and along the margin of our streams, all the infinite varieties of shells, and have collected the minerals of every mountain and every mine. What need of many idle words? The works of God are infinite; to a perfect University belong fixtures, which will enable inquisitive minds, each in its selected branch, to learn all that Heaven has condescended to reveal, all that the powers of man permit him to acquire, all that the accumulated intelligence of previous generations has discovered, all that the keen eye of science has brought to light in any part of our globe. If the system pursued in the government of the College should steadily aim at enlarging the usefulness of the Institution, and at rendering it the great University, or one of the great Universities of the country, we venture to predict, that the other points in dispute will give rise only to transient disaffection. The increasing concentration of the sources of intelligence will confirm public confidence and claim public respect. The curious and the ambitious will necessarily throng, where there is the greatest union of abili-

ties and the means of culture. It may, in this connexion and with due reverence be affirmed, that where the carcass is, thither will the young eagles gather.

Shall the Corporation, then, persevere in their efforts at perfecting the Library, which, in a University, is of all fixtures the most essential? On this subject, we quote from Mr. Gray's pamphlet, a passage in which the question is fairly stated, and the true doctrine clearly and ably enforced.

'I have just now mentioned buying books as one fit mode of spending the College funds. There is nothing, which has been more complained of, than our appropriating so much money to the Library. There is nothing, which I am more ready to defend. The Library, great as it is, is still deficient, very deficient in every department. Few of the Professors, I believe, can find in it the books necessary to enable them to perform their duties to the College.

'It has been stated, that till within three or four years, nothing has been appropriated to the Library from the general funds of the College, since the American Revolution. When, therefore, we are asked, "why spend the enormous sum of five thousand dollars in one year upon the Library? why not rather two thousand?" I ask, in turn, why not rather twenty thousand? The only answer I can give to my own question, is, that I thought five thousand the most we could appropriate to that object, with a due regard to all the other interests of the Institution. If the books bought are all good books, selected so as to be best adapted to our present and most pressing wants, highly and permanently useful, and cheap in proportion to their real value, I can hardly find any other limit than our means, to my willingness to buy them.'

'But it has been gravely and repeatedly said, "what need of more books? You have more books now than any body wants to read."—That is true; but not more than *every* body wants to read, or to consult, or to refer to. A man does not go into a Library to read the volumes in order, as they stand on the shelves, or to count them. He goes there to find all the good books, that have ever been written upon the subject, on which his mind is then engaged. To find exactly what he wants, exactly when he wants it, may save him the labor of a life, or make that life a blessing to mankind. Give to Dr. Bowditch thirty thousand volumes, and it would not compensate him or the public for the loss to him of his one *La Place*. In a country, where any value is attached to science or to letters, there ought to be at least one great library containing the means of excitement and improvement for talents of every kind, food for all tastes, weapons for every hand; and

wherever that Library shall be, there will be the centre of instruction for the whole country; there will be the great establishment for education. Moreover, nothing will tend so effectually to build up such an establishment and attract to it efficient teachers as a Library equal to their wants; and we must not be content to have only books, that will be constantly used, and neglect to obtain those above the common reach.

'Let me suppose, or rather let me state, for I believe it is a fact, that a most accomplished Professor wishes a particular edition of a book, which is not to be found in the country, and desires us to send for it, to enable him to explain to his pupils more fully the meaning of the author he is required to teach them, the charm of his sentiments, and the graces of his style. It is one of those classic writers, who have been regarded for more than two thousand years with admiration and delight by every man of cultivated intellect and refined taste; who have been his teachers in youth, his models perhaps in manhood, and his comforters in age, his companions at home, his guides abroad, shedding light on every path, and breathing consolation in every sorrow. Will it be a sufficient answer to tell him, that though we have not the book he wants, we have a great many that he does not want, and more than he can read, and bid him study them? If the only use of books were to teach us our letters, the argument would be a good one. Any book would do for that. But it cannot be listened to for a moment by any one, who ever entered a library for the purpose of instruction to himself or of benefit to others.'

The propriety of increasing the College Library is here placed upon its right basis. What is the object to be held in view in administering the College? The old fashioned mode of training young persons was doubtless a very commendable one. We approve highly of '*digging, construing, and parsing;*' especially of '*digging,*' since nothing strengthens the mind like diligent exertion. But is this all? If it be, then it is quite useless to make great foundations of any kind; a grammar, a dictionary, and a Latin or Greek book or two, are all the instruments requisite for the very laudable purposes just mentioned. But if something more is expected, if the instructers are themselves to attain to that variety of information, which alone can lead to enlarged and comprehensive views, if the professors are themselves to rise above the mechanical portion of their occupations, and to advance the sciences which they profess, if the mass of learning, which centuries have developed, is to be kept in life and action, then something more than text-

books and dictionaries may be required. Immense literary resources are not requisite for success in drilling; and a great library is demanded only for an institution, which aims at the accomplishment of higher purposes.

The governors of the College, therefore, in determining to increase the collection of books, have given an earnest of their views respecting the obligations incumbent upon them. They have decided wisely, with a just reference to the condition and rapid progress of the country, to the honor of New England, more especially to the honor of our Commonwealth and its capital, to the best interests of intelligence, to the responsibilities resulting from the accumulated respect, which nearly two centuries of usefulness have conciliated for Harvard.

The character of our free institutions naturally invites to a large and comprehensive liberality in appropriating to our use whatever of excellence has elsewhere been produced. The stranger is welcomed to our shores, from whatever portion of the world he may come; the rights of citizenship are made common to any, who will reside in the midst of us. It is the prerogative of those, who are distinguished by liberal culture, to rise in an eminent degree above the restrictions of prejudice. Let us, then, make a home in our public seminaries for whatever excellence the world may produce; and receive into our depositories whatever contributions may be offered to the general stock of human knowledge throughout the world.

If the existence of a separate class of men, as instructers, be requisite to render the foundation of libraries desirable, then we may say, that our country eminently demands them. Where will you find so many devoted to the interests of the rising generation? Our numerous colleges are well provided with instructers; schools and academies are scattered broad-cast over the land. The literary class, at least so far as it is engaged in the business of acquiring instruction for the sake of imparting it to the young, is with us, relatively, quite as numerous as in any part of the world; and if we count all the brotherhood of reviewers, and all the choir of editors, and the long list of those who *have been* editors, and the few writers of books, and the more numerous contributors to *Souvenirs* and magazines, we shall find that these United States count their thousands of writers. The sixty millions who speak the German language are said to have about ten thousand authors; our twelve or thirteen millions have more than a fifth part of that number. As we

love good sense, as we abhor ignorance, let us give them books. Let them have an opportunity of becoming learned. Let there be one place at least, and many more if possible, where the tone of accurate knowledge is firm and elevated; and since the press is the great moral power of our country, let us have a press, eloquent but not superficial, expansive in its sympathies, yet exact and profound. No objection to the establishment of large libraries can be found in the want of a class of men who should use them.

To the professor, books are essential for the attainment of excellence. It would be as idle to require of him the most finished scholarship in any department, without offering access to a large library, as to require of a mechanic the construction of some piece of nicest workmanship without the employment of the appropriate instruments. The very idea of erudition implies the existence of vast collections; and high attainments cannot reasonably be expected of the teacher, when the means for making those attainments are not within his reach.

If we try by this standard the present Library at Cambridge, we shall find it doubtless to be a respectable one; yet rather as exciting good hopes, than as realizing them. In many departments it is not yet even tolerable. Its catalogue of books on civil law, for example, makes but a sorry figure; and in modern history, excepting only what relates to America, the deficiency is appalling. It would be impossible to verify or correct, by means of it, the history of any nation of the European continent.

A fine library will naturally attract men of good abilities and of a fondness for intellectual researches. As surely as the bees in spring will find their way to the largest flower-gardens, so surely will there be busy inquirers where the materials are abundant. And this is one of the chief hindrances at present to the rapid progress of American literature, the want of a point of union, a common arena, where accomplished minds are justled in close proximity.

It is quite as evident, that the vicinity of a large collection of books will tend to develope the talents of those who have access to them. The passion for acquisition may display itself as well in nursing a restless craving after accumulated knowledge, as in any way. The fondness for distinction will naturally rouse to exertion, and public expectations are wont to rise, in proportion to the opportunities, which are offered for the attainment of excellence.

There is one circumstance, which merits consideration, as illustrating the claims of the Library to public favor, that it is equally open to all. The poor and the rich may equally lounge in its alcoves; and the orthodox and the heretic, Christian and Pagan, Jew and Gentile, the defender of Babylon and the advocate of prelacy, may each resort to it for instruction and reproof. There can be no favoritism there; and he that brings the strongest mind and most diligent industry, will be sure to meet with the best welcome.

For the ensuring of success in the establishment of a great library, large appropriations are needed. From what quarter shall they come? The Corporation has appropriated five thousand dollars annually. This is doing well according to their means; but it is not enough. A fire-proof building, somewhat remote from other buildings, is required. Besides, the sum we have mentioned is but just enough to keep up with the age; a great many works of former ages remain to be purchased. The King of Prussia, when determined on making Berlin a central point for science and letters, deemed thirty thousand rix dollars a year not too large an appropriation; he made, also, occasional grants for specific purposes. Our Republic stands in need of as great foundations for general culture as the Prussian monarchy, and Boston is a place of more wealth and of more business than Berlin. Who shall aid the Corporation in their efforts?

We answer, those that are able. Every body knows, that the student in his retirement has little to do with finances; the streams of Pactolus have not their sources in the classic regions of contemplative employment. 'The soil of Parnassus is barren, though its air is pure,' is a true remark of an English physician. It is not, then, from the literary class, as such, that large contributions are to be expected. Go into the streets, and learn who are the men, that control the sources of all the prosperity, with which our country rings from side to side. If they are the dealers in iron, the traders to the Indies, the skilful managers of factories, the prudent masters of monied companies, then it is of them that the country invites, requests, demands a fostering care for the endowment of those fixtures, which are essential to the best interests of knowledge.

But it may be said by those, whose industry has borne away the richest prizes, *cui bono*, how does all this tend to *our* advantage? Are we to contribute to purchase books, which we are never to read?

To be sure you are, is our reply. It is perfectly reasonable to expect that you will assist in buying a large collection of books, though it would be most unreasonable to ask of you to read them. You buy lands which you do not till; yet the culture of them turns to your profit. You own ships, which you send to the utmost limits of the sea,—you do not navigate them in person, and yet the returns are for your advantage.

Gold and silver are of use in all transfers of property; but it is not necessary for every one to labor in the mines. The man of letters extracts the gold, puts upon it a stamp, and makes it current coin; do not in your pride think meanly of the laborers in the mines or the servants of the mint. Take the benefit of the general mass of information circulating in society; but remember that old notions, like old coins, lose part of their currency, and require to be stamped anew, if they are to pass freely in the busy world.

We repeat, then, you must buy the books, but there your duty ends; you are not obliged to read them. There are in society men, whose duty it becomes, in conformity with the rightful subdivision of labor, to read them for your benefit, so soon as the means are offered. It is necessary, for example, that there should be a large medical library; and it is important to the community, that there should be among us a class of active, professional men, acquainted with all that has been observed respecting every disease and form of physical evil, to which inherent weakness, or civilization, or virtue, or vice, has exposed poor human nature. But God forbid, that every individual, not of the profession, should store his mind with all the details of men's infirmities, should crowd his imagination with the disgusting images of loathsome illness, should load his memory with all the vile circumstances of a lazar-house, should be aware of all the intensity of excruciating tortures, which the surgeon relieves, or should know all the frantic creations and saddening tricks of insanity, as exhibited within the gloomy walls of a mad-house. It is essential to the common happiness that all these things should be known, and the memory of them carefully treasured up; but it is fortunately not every man's duty to hoard such melancholy facts.

Apply the same mode of reasoning to the study of Latin and Greek. How often have we seen men contumeliously sneer at the humble pursuits of the philologist, scoff at his diligent investigation of difficult points in grammar, and treat

his labors as insignificant and valueless. Be it so. We will not argue that point. Undoubtedly much of the minute toil, requisite to the formation of a good scholar, is mere drudgery; yet, as times and manners are, the habits of cultivated nations and the approved modes of education, it is on any view requisite and desirable, that all the results of philological research should be possessed by living men. And hence the necessity of an immense critical apparatus, which the opulent will seldom consult, though they must contribute to its purchase.

We might multiply illustrations. What branch of knowledge is more interesting than that which records the fortunes of the human race? Yet to make history valuable, there must be for the inquirer ready access to the sources, and abundant opportunity offered for verifying the details. Most of us read not more than one history of Rome. What confusion of ideas would Niebuhr's history have occasioned in the minds of men, in a community where there was no erudition? The opportunity for research is the best safeguard against incredulity; and we shall take things quite enough on trust, even if we have the materials of re-production within our reach.

But is there to be no end to this purchase of books? Oh yes,—and let us see what it is. When the public library has redeemed from time all the valuable intellectual bequests of former ages, when it has garnered up all that preceding generations had amassed as a sacred and imperishable inheritance, there will then remain no duty, but to collect what the age produces. And when literary ambition shall cease to be excited; when genius is no longer bestowed by the munificence of Heaven; when industry no longer collects new facts respecting man or nature; when the forming hand ceases to re-produce; when the streams of human intellect no longer flow; when the springs of intelligence and thought are all dried up; when the regions of science and of mind sleep in a universal lethargy, then it will be time to give over buying books; and then, too, there will be no need of a university at Cambridge, and no functions for a college corporation.

In fine, we think that the present movement in favor of the Library, on the part of the governors of Harvard, is not to be attributed to the transient impulse of a magnificent, ephemeral enthusiasm; but is rather the result of a right understanding of their duty, is approved by the deliberate judgment of the community, and is in strict accordance with the public requisitions and wants.

ART. X.—*Life and Character of Henry Brougham.*

1. *Speech of Henry Brougham, Esq. M. P. on the Present State of the Law.* 1828.
2. *Practical Observations on Popular Education.* By H. BROUGHAM, Esq. M. P. F. R. S. From the Twentieth London Edition. Boston. 1826.
3. *Publications of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge.* 1827—1831.

Our present object is, not to speak particularly of the merits of the several publications just enumerated, but to sketch for the entertainment and instruction of our readers, the more prominent incidents in the life of the remarkable individual, who is the author of some of them, and the chief promoter of all. We do not know that we can render a worthier or more acceptable service to the readers of our Journal, than by devoting, from time to time, a portion of its pages to a narrative of the doings of such men. It was well said, that 'History is Philosophy teaching by example.' But history seldom condescends to the teaching of individuals; and when she does, she instructs us rather in the arts of war than in the works of peace; noticing briefly and withal somewhat superciliously the noblest designs and labors of philanthropy, and even the most glorious civil triumphs, while she records, with all the blazoning of the most gorgeous description, the achievements of military prowess, or details, with scrupulous minuteness, the intrigues of courts. Thus the examples furnished by history are not adapted to the instruction of common life. They show us man in his robes of state and under the influence of artificial constraint, not in his every day dress, and acting from the genuine promptings of the heart. They exhibit to our view a man not of nature's making but of art's making.

Now biography teaches by better examples than these. Her instructions are adapted to peace as well as to war; to man as an individual as well as to man in society. She holds up for our admiration and imitation men who have never seen the tented field. She sits by the philosopher in his closet, and notes the laborious processes of thought by which his mind struggles to reach, and at last does reach, some mighty and all-comprehending principle. And to waken in the hearts of other men a noble emulation, she tells of the inexpressible triumph with which he exclaims *Ευρηκα*. She accompanies

the traveller in his toilsome journeys from land to land, to gather some worthy offering for science, or to add some yet undiscovered realm to the dominions of knowledge. She deems it no unworthy task to tell with what self-sacrificing spirit philanthropists have labored on through difficulty, and discouragement, and opposition, to give effect to some grand scheme of benevolence, in many instances dying without one glimpse of the glorious triumph which was destined to crown their exertions. By examples such as these does biography teach, and teach noble lessons.

There is, however, yet another use of biography. It helps us to a better understanding of the way in which the great machine of society works. Thoughts and feelings are the prime forces that act upon it, the thoughts and feelings of individual men. And it often happens that one man, by the force of circumstances, or by the resistless energy of his own spirit, is placed or places himself in a situation to control, like an earthly god, the destinies of whole nations;—still oftener, originates some new thought or makes some new discovery or invention, destined in its consequences to change the whole aspect of society. It is important, therefore, to know something of individual character and conduct, in order to understand the operation of these latent but powerful influences. Indeed, for our own part, if we might be permitted to preserve all the memorials of such men, we should hardly be disposed to quarrel with time for devouring the remainder of his omnifarious offspring.

It serves also as a general and generous stimulant at the great banquet of knowledge. Every one feels a greater curiosity to read the work of a friend or acquaintance than the production of a stranger; and biography makes us acquainted with the authors of the books we read. And certainly, if we may be permitted to speak from our own experience, not a little is added to the interest with which we peruse the writings even of the glorious Milton, when we learn from his biographer, that he was a firm friend of freedom in his day; that he lived in the stormy times of the English Commonwealth; that he was Secretary to the Protector, Cromwell; that after the restoration, he was persecuted, though old and diseased, and poor and blind; that though

> ——— not to him returned
> Day or the sweet approach of even or morn,
> Or sight of vernal bloom, or summer's rose,

> Or flocks or herds or human face divine,
> But clouds instead and ever during dark
> Surrounded him;

that though

> ——— fallen on evil days and evil tongues,
> With danger and with darkness compassed round,

he yet, under this accumulated pressure of calamity, did not

> ——— bate a jot
> Of heart or hope, but still bore up and steered
> Right onward.

And every one knows, for every one feels, how the remembrance of the deeds of our Revolutionary fathers has invested with an almost holy character and sacred authority whatever they have left behind them for the instruction of their children. It is because we know who they were, and what they did, that we now give such earnest heed to what they said. It is because we know that they labored hard, and acted wisely, and suffered much, and ventured every thing, that we now listen to their voices reverently as to the responses of an oracle.

The individual, of whom we now propose to speak, has not, indeed, this last sacred claim upon us. But he has a claim of as high, though different nature. He belongs to a great party, which has arisen in modern times,—we mean the party of the friends of freedom, universal freedom; who confine their regards within the limits of no geographical boundaries and to no peculiar texture or color of the skin. And we rejoice in it as one of the best signs of our times, that let a man only be seen laboring in the cause of mankind, and bringing with him to the work eminent ability and exalted worth, and be he of what nation he may, voices of approbation and encouragement will come to him from every abode of civilized man, to cheer him on. Such a man fixes the gaze of multitudes every where. And herein we have a strong security for his faithfulness. If he tire of his work, or suffer himself to be lured aside by temptation, he knows that imagination cannot number the tongues that will pronounce his name with loathing and abhorrence.

We would not be thought to have forgotten the maxim, that none but the dead can be accounted happy. We are aware that the judgment of the dead was not, and is not peculiar to

Egypt. Nor is that judgment to be held in light esteem. Posterity will, no doubt, pronounce more impartially upon the doings of a man, but, perhaps, not, therefore, more unerringly than his contemporaries. The mists of prejudice may be dissipated,—may be, but are not always; yet much will be forgotten that is essential to a just decision, and ignorance darkens judgment as much as prejudice misleads it. There are important purposes to be answered by a contemporary trial of the living man. If he have done well, the applause of the world will encourage him to do better; if ill, the censure of the world will deter him from a repetition of the evil. Public opinion now-a-days takes cognizance of every man's thoughts and conduct, and binds him over to good behavior. It is well that it is so. It is well for mankind, that public opinion cheers the laborer in a good cause onward; while it rebukes the evil-doer in tones of authority that must be felt and cannot be disregarded. We should not hesitate, therefore, to speak of Henry Brougham, as we think he deserves to be spoken of, under any circumstances. Much less would we stifle the expression of our opinion now, when an ocean rolls between us, and we are to him as posterity. Besides, we would contribute our humble aid to foster sentiments of reciprocal esteem between those, who, in different lands, and under widely different circumstances, cherish the same love of freedom, and the same earnest desires to promote the best interests of mankind. We propose, therefore, the life and character of Brougham, as a worthy example to those who are ambitious of a noble name. We would not ask for him the tribute of admiration only. We require for him another and a higher homage,—the homage of imitation. Not that all can tread where he has trodden. That is not needful. But every one may find something in his example to imitate. All may learn something from the study of his life, that will make them wiser and better men,—more enlightened as to what the condition of the age requires of them; and more firmly resolved to do what is required.

We have extended these preliminary observations somewhat beyond our intention; but, we hope, not uselessly. We will detain our readers on the threshold no longer; but proceed at once to lay before them what information we have been able to collect. Henry Brougham was born in Westmoreland, a county in the North of England, in 1769. Of his early

life we have been able to ascertain little more than that he was educated in Scotland. It would be interesting to know what promise his infancy gave of his future greatness. It would gratify a natural curiosity to be informed whether they who saw the seedling germ, predicted the majestic height and wide-spreading luxuriance of the full-grown oak. We may infer, however, with sufficient certainty, from the subsequent character of the man, that the boy must have been great among boys. It is probable that he was even then distinguished for clearness and quickness of apprehension, force of thought, energy of expression, and decision of character. He was, it is likely, no idler; but, warned by some mysterious instinct, of the part he was destined to act on the great theatre of human affairs, he gathered with patient toil and treasured up in his mind vast stores of knowledge for his yet undeveloped faculties to act upon in future years. He could not have been a genius, if a genius be what a real genius has lately been described to be, 'an idle, irregular vagabond sort of a personage, who muses in the fields, or dreams by the fire-side, whose strong impulses must needs hurry him into wild irregularity or foolish eccentricity; who abhors order, and can bear no restraint, and eschews all labor.' On the contrary, it is very probable, that he labored intensely, and was, perhaps, spoken of by his school-fellows as a hard working fellow,—but no genius. At all events, it is certain that his whole after life has been a practical declaration of a deeply seated conviction of the paramount importance, the indispensable necessity of earnest, unwearied, unremitting labor. His whole life bears witness to his belief, that nothing worth having can be gained without effort; but that by steady, persevering effort, every thing may be gained.

We first hear distinctly of Mr. Brougham as a member of a celebrated debating society, in Edinburgh. There, like our own Pinkney, he trained himself in the arts of logical offence and defence. There he prepared, by assiduous self-discipline in mock encounters, for the more strenuous contests of after years, when the buttons were to be off the foils, and shields were to be stricken with the sharp end of the spear, until they should ring again. Success, more brilliant than fancy could have pictured or hope have prophesied to the youthful aspirant, was destined to crown his labors.

About this time, while he was not yet twenty years of age,

he wrote and communicated papers on the higher Geometry to the Royal Society of London. These papers were ordered to be printed in the Transactions of that Society, and they were read, admired and commented on in foreign tongues. This was his first great triumph, and a great triumph indeed it was. We can hardly conceive a worthier commencement of his glorious life. Perchance we may be singular in our opinions; but we do look upon these purely intellectual achievements as conferring a far more enviable distinction upon a man, than the proudest military triumphs. We would have the feelings of Franklin, when with a kite and a hempen string he brought the lightning from the clouds, rather than those of the Duke of Wellington after the battle of Waterloo. And therefore we think it by no means the least honorable circumstance of Brougham's career, that at so early an age, when he was, in fact, but a mere boy, he should have been able to communicate such papers to such a society; that they should be deemed worthy to be published in that great record of their collected wisdom, through which Newton was proud to give some of his most splendid discoveries to the world, and that they should have attracted the attention, and been honored with the comments of the philosophers of the continent.

In 1813, in the thirty-fifth year of his age, Mr. Brougham published an elaborate work on the Colonial Policy of the European Powers, which added much to a reputation already brilliant. About the same time, also, he became a contributor to the Edinburgh Review, which periodical had been established the year before, and had espoused the principles of the Whig party. Of this Review, he has ever since been one of the chief ornaments and supporters. He has contributed to its pages many of its best articles on various subjects of literature and science, seeming equally at home and at his ease in either walk. As we do not intend to recur again particularly to his scientific or literary labors, we will mention here that he is the author of several papers in Nicholson's Journal, of which we cannot fix the date. While thus engaged in laying deep and strong the foundations of his fame in a broad and comprehensive knowledge of men and things, and their infinitely diversified relations, he did not neglect the more dry and abstruse investigations through which lies the road, and the only road, to legal distinction. He had chosen the profession of the law, and to choose a profession, and to determine to be among the most distinguished

of its members, were to him one and the same thing. He set about giving effect to this determination with all that energy of will and perseverance of effort, which he had already displayed so conspicuously in other pursuits. All our readers, probably, know how splendid was his success; and will pardon us, if we hasten to the commencement of his parliamentary career.

He was about thirty-eight years of age, when he first took his seat in Parliament; having been returned for Camelford, a borough in the interest of the Duke of Bedford. It was a period crowded with great events. The world was then agitated by the all-grasping ambition of one extraordinary man. Nothing seemed to be exempt from his power. He overturned thrones and subverted governments. At the distance of three thousand miles, we felt the shock. England alone seemed to stand in his way to the mastery of the old world; and with England, he was, at this period, at war. In ordinary wars, neutral rights are respected, and the neutral position is one of eminent advantage. But this was not an ordinary war. Napoleon led the way to the violation of the law of nations and of neutral rights, by the famous decree of Berlin, issued in November, 1806. The English Government retaliated, by issuing the equally famous Orders in Council, in November, 1807. In December of the same year, Congress, deeming our commerce 'unsafe within the wind of such commotion,' passed the embargo law, by which our whole trade was at once withdrawn from the ocean. Of the effect and policy of all or any of these acts of belligerent legislation, it is not our purpose to speak in detail. The trade and manufactures of Great Britain were deeply injured by them; and, in the following year, petitions were presented from London, Liverpool, and Manchester, against the obnoxious Orders in Council. Mr. Brougham was the most conspicuous advocate of the petitioners. He argued their cause, and the cause of the nation, ably and faithfully; but his efforts were not, at this time, successful. The Orders in Council were not rescinded. For four years longer, the nation struggled on through every form of embarrassment and distress. The merchants and manufacturers again complained and petitioned; and Mr. Brougham was again their advocate. He moved that evidence should be heard at the bar of the House of Commons on the state of the country. Contrary to general expectation, according to the wish, rather than the hope of the petitioners themselves, the

motion prevailed. Evidence was introduced. Mr. Brougham himself took the lead in the examination; which was continued near a month, until the House was saturated with information as to the existence and the cause of the general distress. He then, in a speech of great eloquence and power, urged the immediate repeal of the obnoxious and ruinous edicts. His principal arguments were drawn from the vast importance of the American market to the British manufacturer, and the necessity of checking the growth of a manufacturing spirit in the United States, who had begun to make at home, what British policy prevented them from purchasing abroad. We regret that we have not room to lay before our readers some passages from this truly splendid speech; but we must reserve all the space that can be spared for other quotations of even greater interest. His power had been felt before; but in this debate, he first put forth his whole strength. He showed himself to be armed with a perfect knowledge of the whole merits of the question, and he used his knowledge with wonderful skill. He exposed, with irresistible sarcasm, the absurdity and ruinous character of the ministerial policy; and he alarmed the fears and aroused the sympathies of the House, by vividly picturing the uneasy and distressed condition of the country. It is scarcely necessary to add, what nearly all our readers know, that he went out of this debate triumphantly. The Orders in Council were rescinded on the 23d of June, 1812. It was, indeed, too late to regain our trade; for war had been declared by the United States against Great Britain, only a few days before. Mr. Brougham's merits, as the champion of the commercial and manufacturing interests, could not, however, be affected by this extrinsic circumstance, which so greatly diminished the value of the victory he had gained for them. We are informed by a gentleman, who was himself an important witness before the House, and whom these pernicious enactments went near to ruin, that the deputations from Leeds, Manchester, Birmingham, Liverpool, and other places, then representing their interests at London, presented to Mr. Brougham, on this occasion, a splendid service of plate, as a token of their sense of the value of his services.

But the repeal of the Orders in Council constitutes one of his least claims upon the gratitude of his country. We now invite the attention of our readers to his labors in the cause of popular education. This important subject seems to have occu-

pied him early; but it was impossible to draw the attention of Parliament to it while the country was plunged in war. He did not attempt to do so, and he acted wisely. In the meantime, the people,—'a class,' as somebody has well said, 'who became obsolete soon after the downfall of the Roman Republic, and did not come again into notice for some sixteen or seventeen centuries,'—were learning a lesson in the school of experience, that rigid and stern, but most efficient schoolmaster. The great efforts that had been made, and were making, to vindicate the rights of the many against the pretensions of the few, were not regarded with an indifferent eye. Our own example of prosperous freedom shone calmly, but gloriously, upon the path of nations. Many eyes, that had been blind to the signs of the times, were opened; many ears, that had been deaf to the pleadings of humanity, were unstopped; many tongues, that had been silent in her cause, were loosed; so that when the war ended and the heavy pressure was taken off from the energies of the nation, every body felt that a great change had been wrought upon public sentiment, and that a great reform was necessary to satisfy the wishes of the people. Mr. Brougham seized this auspicious moment to commence his labors in behalf of education. In England, education had never been made a national concern. Individuals, of every rank, from the monarch down to the humblest of his subjects, had, from time to time, appropriated large sums to this object; but the nation, as a nation, had never done any thing for it. It became necessary, therefore, if Parliament should determine to take this matter into their own hands, to ascertain how far their individual contributions went towards accomplishing the object of a national education, before it could be known how much must be supplied from the public treasury. It was very generally understood, that numerous instances existed, of most reprehensible mismanagement and misapplication of the funds devoted by private munificence to this truly pious purpose. Every lawyer knew this perfectly well. In the sixth volume of the Term Reports, we find Lord Kenyon remarking, in one of his opinions, that 'whoever will examine the state of the grammar schools in different parts of the kingdom, will see to what a lamentable condition most of them are reduced. If all persons had equally done their duty, we should not find, as is now the case, empty walls without scholars, and every thing neglected but the receipt of the salaries and emoluments.' And in the

thirteenth volume of Vesey's Reports, Lord Eldon is represented as solemnly and sternly denouncing from the bench, the general mode of dealing with the charity estates all over the kingdom, as 'grossly improvident, amounting to a direct breach of trust.'

Mr. Brougham's first efforts were, of course, to be directed to the exposure and correction of these abuses. In 1816, he began by moving for a Committee to inquire into the state of education among the lower orders of the metropolis. The alarm and clamor, with which the first proposal to extend the blessings of education to the working classes had been received, had subsided and was become disreputable. The motion, therefore, was not opposed. An Education Committee, consisting of forty members, taken indiscriminately from both sides of the House, was appointed, and Mr. Brougham was placed at the head of it. We cannot give any detailed account of the labors of this Committee; nor is it necessary to our purpose. A man who is in earnest in a good cause, will not shrink from the burdens it imposes; and we accordingly find Mr. Brougham, as we might have expected to find him, doing a very large share of the Committee's work. And the work was well done. The investigation went to the very bottom. The Committee made a voluminous Report,—printed by order of Parliament,—showing the proportion of uneducated children, the state of their morals, the happy influence of education upon morals, the circumstances in the state of the country favorable and unfavorable to education, the proper methods of promoting education, and lastly, the condition of the funds, already applicable to this purpose. In the session of 1818, this Committee was revived and clothed with larger powers. Its labors were renewed with the same energetic zeal, which had marked them when confined to a narrower sphere. Great numbers were examined, as well upon the general subject of education, as upon the application of the charitable funds. Mr. Brougham himself was a witness, and spread before the Committee a vast amount of information, collected by actual observation and from an extensive correspondence. The whole accumulated mass of evidence was digested into a second Report, which was also printed by order of Parliament. These Reports furnished a complete chart of the state of education throughout the kingdom, and attracted universal attention. It was found, that Lord Kenyon's descrip-

tion was not only not overcharged, but that it actually fell far short of the reality. Men were found receiving large salaries for teaching, where nothing was taught; and where, in some instances, the very endowment of the school was unknown to those who should have received the benefit of it. Two or three cases, taken almost at random from these Reports, and from another source, will set this matter in a much stronger light than the most elaborate description.

We will first mention that of a free school and hospital amply endowed. The lands belonging to this charity, worth about $12,000 a year, were rented by the trustees to individuals of their own number, for about $3000. The free school was not taught at all; because, as it was alleged, scholars would not come; yet there was a master receiving a good salary, and enjoying, besides, the use of a house and premises worth about $400 a year, and keeping a private school for his own benefit, in the free school-house! Where he found scholars is a mystery. It was utterly impossible to get any when they were to be taught for nothing. In another case,—which we find detailed in a letter from Mr. Brougham to Sir Samuel Romilly, recommending a commission of inquiry,—a suit was brought in Chancery, and the evidence showed a richly endowed school, where the master was engaged in the laborious duty of teaching one whole boy, and his usher was helping, as well as he could, at the distance of a hundred miles. In this case, the Chancellor thought himself obliged to decree to this master and his usher, for services so meritorious, all the money received on account of fines, amounting then to about $25,000; lamenting, at the same time, the extreme injustice of the case; but saying with Portia,

'The law allows it, and the court awards it.'

The last case we shall mention is that of a free school, where the master and usher enjoyed a clear income of about $4000 a year; besides houses for both and two closes for the master. The school-room had gone to ruin, and was converted into a carpenter's shop. There was, as in the first case, one scholar, who was taught in another room. The master had been obliged, as he said, to be a great deal absent from home, much against his inclination, and the usher, of whom he had the appointment, was deaf.

These facts are enough to show what was the nature of the

abuses that Mr. Brougham undertook to investigate. He was cheered, at the outset of his labor, by the unanimous applause of all parties. He found approbation, and encouragement, and support every where. Even the Ministers condescended to say, that they wished Mr. Brougham were always as well employed. The sky was clear;—the sea calm;—the breeze blew fair. Every thing seemed to bode well. In a little time, however, all this encouraging prospect was overcast. The questions connected with national education, remote as they are in their nature from party considerations, became, nevertheless, from causes that our limits do not allow us to state, party questions. The Ministry now began to think it a dangerous thing to commend a measure that had originated with so active an opponent as Mr. Brougham; and they naturally tried to retrieve the error that had betrayed them into temporary fairness, by hindering, or at least embarrassing its farther progress. A multitude of small writers opened their little batteries upon Mr. Brougham. He was charged with designs hostile to the two great Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. He intended, they said, to convert them into schools for paupers. He was accused of a wish 'to make himself a dictator in this country, by establishing a grand inquisition, and placing himself at its head.' It may well be supposed, that Mr. Brougham was not alarmed by these attacks. In 1819, he introduced a bill recommending a parliamentary commission of inquiry into the condition of charitable endowments, to complete the work which the Education Committee had begun. In the debate that arose upon this bill, the objections to the measure were arranged principally in two classes; the one, founded on the pretence, that the powers granted to the Commissioners would enable them to pry into the private titles of the kingdom; the other, on the assumption, that a sufficient remedy for abuses, if any there were, already existed in the Court of Chancery, under the statute of Charitable Uses. On the first class of objections, Mr. Brougham commented with deserved severity. 'Under the flimsy pretence,' he says, 'of great tenderness for the sacred rights of property, I am well aware that the authors of the outcry conceal their own dread of being themselves dragged to light as the robbers of the poor; and I will tell those shameless persons, that the doctrine which they promulgate of charitable funds in a trustee's hand being private property, is

utterly repugnant to the whole law of England.' And this proposition, we think, he conclusively demonstrated, but we have not space for the steps of the process. We shall give, at greater length, a part of his reply to the second class of objections, not merely because it is vivid and powerful, but because it is a vivid and powerful description of a Court, in which Mr. Brougham himself now presides as Lord High Chancellor of England.

'It is enough to observe of the remedy under the statute of Charitable Uses, that it leads him who pursues it, sooner or later, into the Court of Chancery; and, in truth, as the law now stands, that well known Court is the only refuge of those who complain. See then the relief held out to us by those who oppose, or threaten to oppose this measure, and who bid us resort to the ancient laws of the land! It is admitted to be true, that glaring abuses every where prevail; true, that hardly a parish or a hamlet can be found where complaints are not heard; true, that the highest judicial authority proclaimed the extent of the grievance; true, that a Committee of the House of Commons, thirty years ago, vehemently urged you to afford redress. But your remedy is at hand, say the objectors,—what reason have you to complain? Is not the Court of Chancery open? Come, all ye who labor under the burden of fraud and oppression, enter the eternal gate of the Court of Chancery! True, you are the poor of the land,—the grievance you complain of has robbed you of every thing; but, though pennyless, you are not remediless; you have only to file a bill in Equity, and the matter will take its course! Why, if there be nothing in the reality, there is something in the name of the Court of Chancery, that appals the imagination and strikes terror into the unlearned mind. I recollect the saying of a very great man in the Court of King's Bench. The Judge having said of his client, "Let him go into a Court of Equity," Mr. Erskine answered, in an artless tone of voice, that made Westminster Hall ring with laughter, "Would your Lordship send a fellow-creature there?" There may be some exaggeration in the alarms created by the bare name of this Court; but, as long as it exists, a barrier is raised against suitors, who only seek redress for the poor, though no bars of oak or of iron may shut them out. Yet that the prevailing panic has some little foundation, I will show you by a fact. This remedy has only once been resorted to since 1787, and I am now enabled to state the result. The commission was executed in 1803; and in 1804, a decree was made, and the Court was petitioned to confirm it. Exceptions were taken as usual. Much and solemn argument

was held, and I will venture to say from what I know of that Court, the case was most learnedly and plentifully debated. In 1808 the matter was deemed ripe for a decision, and, to use a technical but significant expression, it has *stood over for judgment.* Now in the language of the profession, "*this is my case.*" If any one tells me that the statute of Charitable Uses affords a remedy, I answer, that the grossest abuses being every where notorious, this remedy has been only thrice resorted to for above half a century, and only once within the last thirty years; and I bid him look at the fate of that one attempt to obtain justice.'

Notwithstanding Mr. Brougham's argument and eloquence, his bill did not pass, except after material modification, and being shorn of a great part of its original efficiency. The power proposed to be given to the Commissioners was limited, their sphere of action narrowed, and some classes of charities, in which abuses were known to exist, altogether exempted from investigation. The original bill proposed the appointment of eight Commissioners by Parliament, to be distributed into four Boards of Inquiry. The number eight was retained; but three instead of two Commissioners were assigned to each Board, and their appointment was assumed by the Ministry. The Education Committee, still anxious, though much disappointed, to give what effect they could to the measure, recommended several persons known to have distinguished themselves in the investigation, to be of the commission. The men of their nomination were passed by without ceremony; while men were appointed, avowedly hostile to the measure, or devoted, with almost exclusive zeal, to professional pursuits. Mr. Brougham offered his own services. They were rejected with contemptuous silence. On this subject, our readers will allow us to use his own language. 'I was induced,' he says in his letter to Sir Samuel Romilly, 'to tender my services, by the strong representations of my fellow-laborers in the Committee. As the office conferred neither emolument, nor patronage, nor power; as it gave only the privilege of hard labor, of which my habits of life and my zeal for the cause made it very clear that I should cheerfully take advantage; I imagined that the most implacable species of malice,—the spite of peculators trembling for their unjust gains,—could hardly impute any selfish views to the application. I therefore stated openly in my place, that I was anx-

ious to be an honorary member of this commission. I added, that even if my temporary retirement from Parliament were deemed an indispensable condition of the appointment, I still desired to have the option upon those terms; being of opinion, that I might render more valuable service to the country by devoting to the proposed inquiry the whole time which I could spare from professional avocations.' Yet though Mr. Brougham thus publicly declared his readiness even to go out of Parliament, if he might be permitted on that condition to labor for the public good, men were found willing to assert that the sole spring, source, and motive of all his efforts in this cause was parliamentary ambition.

Crippled and maimed as the bill was in its passage, it nevertheless produced important results. The Commissioners appointed under it, made two reports, containing the substance of their investigations into the condition of a large number of charities. The statements of the Education Committee were fully confirmed; and, in the next year, the whole original measure of Mr. Brougham was carried through Parliament *without a dissenting voice.* And more. The powers of the Commissioners were enlarged, and their number increased beyond his first proposition; to the infinite mortification of a number of scribblers, who had thought to render an acceptable service to the Ministry, by attacking that measure, which public opinion constrained them at last to adopt as their own. The reports of the Commissioners, made as well before as after this suppletory measure, are very ample, and contain a full account of the condition of a great portion of the English charities.

Mr. Brougham now thought the time come for a direct effort to effect that grand object to which all this inquiry was a mere preliminary. He brought into Parliament, in 1820, his celebrated bill for the general education of the poor; providing for the instruction of all the children of all the people in common schools. This bill instantly became the object of virulent assault. Inflamed and contradictory accounts of it were spread among the people. The Churchmen were admonished that it would ruin the Establishment; while Dissenters were warned that it would annihilate the sects. Every effort was made to array the religious feelings of the community in opposition to the measure. One writer actually went so far, as to ascribe the whole scheme to the instigation of Satan, and seemed impressed with a vague notion, that Mr. Brougham

himself must be, some how or other, an incarnation of the Prince of Darkness. Of this writer's ravings, we give a specimen, as a curiosity in controversy.

'And this reprehensible plan (Mr. Brougham's Plan of National Education) is proposed at a time when the enemy is, with malignant craft and industry, compiling and circulating far and wide manuals of the most blasphemous and seditious nature, for the use of those very children who are taught to read and write by the public benevolence. If the Madras System of Education, which more than combines all the mechanical advantages of the Lancasterian, with the addition of wholesome and daily instruction in Christian faith and practice, as admirably set forth in our Church Catechism and other appropriate expositions, is even endangered by these infernal machinations of the Devil and his inspired agents; how can we contemplate without painful apprehension, those naked schemes of education, which offer no effectual barrier against the infidel and demoralizing doctrines of the times! The enemy of mankind, whose element is sin, and whose good is evil, neglects no opportunity to sow his tares in a field so superficially cultivated, and so exposed to his incursions.'

It will doubtless astonish Americans to learn, that the study of the Bible, without note or comment, was a part of the plan of instruction so vehemently attacked. It is deeply to be regretted, that appeals to the religious sentiments of mankind should be so often made to arrest the progress of benevolence, or the diffusion of knowledge. Still more deeply is it to be lamented, that these appeals should be so frequently successful; that religion, the highest, the purest, the noblest of all the influences that can operate upon man, should so frequently become, in the hands of designing or ignorant men, the instrument of counteracting her own benevolent purposes. In the present case, they prevented an incalculable good to England. The progress of the Education Bill was arrested; and Mr. Brougham's efforts in Parliament were, of course, suspended. Of this sore disappointment, he speaks in the Dedication of his Practical Observations on Popular Education, with that calmness and forbearance, which he has ever displayed, when either was a virtue. 'I have,' says he, 'brought the question of Elementary Education repeatedly before Parliament, when the lukewarmness of many, and by me ever to be respected scruples of some, have hitherto greatly obstructed my design.'

As it is our intention to describe what Mr. Brougham has done, without following very scrupulously the order of time, we shall make no apology for taking our readers back to the year 1816. In that year, his parliamentary life seems to have been fruitful of events. We have already mentioned, that he began his labors in behalf of popular education at that time. And we must not pass without notice his motion for a copy of the 'Christian Treaty,' 'falsely so called,' concluded at Paris, September 26, 1815, between the sovereigns of Russia, Austria, and Prussia. He was the first, we believe, who exposed the iniquitous conspiracy against the rights of man, concealed under the specious engagement, by which the three potentates bound themselves to take for the guide of their political conduct the precepts of our holy religion. His motion afforded him an opportunity to make this exposure; though we do not know that it answered any other purpose, or, indeed, that it was intended to answer any other. The whole world has since seen how well founded were his suspicions of this Holy Alliance.

In 1816, also, Mr. Brougham took a conspicuous part in the discussions that arose upon the distresses of the country. The agricultural interest suffered most. The war demand had greatly raised prices, and caused a large amount of capital to be invested in farming operations; and other causes co-operated to produce the same result. At the return of peace, the extraordinary demand ceased, and prices fell. Multitudes were ruined. Mr. Brougham mentioned in his speech the case of a parish, in which every individual but one became insolvent. All over the country, there were scenes of distress constantly occurring, which beggar description. Parliament took the subject into consideration. Mr. Brougham's speech on this occasion is distinguished by extent of research, by a vast accumulation of facts, and by the clearness of the principles and the conclusiveness of the arguments derived from those facts. It exhibits a complete view of the history and condition of the agriculture of the country; of the causes of its prosperity and decline, and of the remedies he thought best calculated to relieve existing distresses.

The next year, we find Mr. Brougham indignantly denouncing the treacherous dealing of the British Ministry with the States on the continent, after the final overthrow of Napoleon; and particularly with Ragusa and Genoa. In the great council

of partition and spoliation, held at Vienna in 1814, it was determined, without the consent, and contrary to the known wish of these States, to annex Ragusa to Austria, and Genoa to Sardinia. The last act of violence and wrong was the more unjustifiable, because the restoration of their ancient Government, and the enjoyment of civil liberty, had been assured by the English Government to the Genoese. We quote the language of Mr. Brougham on this subject, the rather, because it affords a specimen,—the only one which we shall have occasion to cite,—of that vehement invective, which he is said to employ so effectively, when the occasion demands it.

'Sir, if one page in the history of the late Congress be blacker than another, it is that which records the deeds of the noble lord (Lord Castlereagh) against Genoa. When I approach this subject, and reflect on the powerful oratory, the force of argument, as well as of language, backed by the high authority of virtue, a sanction ever deeply felt in this House, once displayed in the cause of that ill-fated republic, by tongues now silent, but which used to be ever eloquent where public justice was to be asserted, or useful truth fearlessly inculcated, I feel hardly capable of going on. My lasting sorrow for the loss we have sustained, is made deeper by the regret that those lamented friends live not to witness the punishment of that foul conduct, which they solemnly denounced. The petty tyrant, to whom the noble lord delivered over that ancient and gallant people, almost as soon as they had at his call joined the standard of national independence, has since subjected them to the most rigorous provisions of his absurd code; a code directed especially against the commerce of this country, and actually less unfavorable to France.

'Thus, then, it appears, that, after all, in public as well as in private, in state affairs as well as in the concerns of the most humble individuals, the old maxim cannot safely be forgotten, that "honesty is the best policy." In vain did the noble lord flatter himself, that his subserviency to the unrighteous system of the Congress would secure him the adherence of the courts, whom he made his idols. If he had abandoned that false, foreign system, if he had acted upon the principles of the nation whom he represented, and stood forward as the advocate of the people, the people would have been grateful. He preferred the interests and wishes of the courts; and by the courts he is treated with their wonted neglect. To his crimes against the people, all over Europe; to his invariable surrender of their cause; to his steady refusal of the protection which they had a right to expect, and which they did expect from the manly and generous character of

England, it is owing, that if, at this moment, you traverse the continent in any direction whatever, you may trace the noble lord's career in the curses of the nations whom he has betrayed, and the mockery of the courts who have inveigled him to be their dupe.'

In 1820, an extraordinary event occurred, in which Mr. Brougham was a conspicuous actor, and drew upon himself the observation of the civilized world. Every one remembers that the late Queen Caroline, in a little more than a year after her marriage, was unaccountably abandoned by her husband, then Prince of Wales; that, after suffering much and painful humiliation, she left England, and remained abroad until the decease of George III.; and that she then returned to claim her rights and vindicate her character. Her arrival was greeted with the most enthusiastic demonstrations of joy and affection on the part of the people. The Court did not, of course, participate in these sentiments. The Church was forbidden to insert her name in the Liturgy. The prime minister, Lord Liverpool, was directed to bring a bill into the House of Lords to deprive her of her rights and title as Queen-consort of the realm; and the most dishonorable methods were resorted to, to accumulate evidence against her. Mr. Brougham was her Attorney-General. It is said, that he had endeavored to dissuade her from returning to England; but in vain. He now used every effort to prevent the disgraceful trial which he had anticipated, from proceeding; but with as little success; and certainly no lawyer ever prepared himself for the defence of a nobler client, or under more peculiar circumstances. Against him, he saw arrayed the power of the King, the influence of ministers, the wealth of the treasury, and the interests and prejudices of a majority of the judges; and he knew full well, that to proceed, he must turn away his eye from the most tempting objects of ambition, and shut against himself the door of political elevation during that whole reign. Under such circumstances, a man might be excused, if he should display some little hesitation. Mr. Brougham never hesitated for a moment. It was enough for him to know, that he was to plead the cause of a stranger, to whom the rights of hospitality were denied; of a woman assailed by power; of a wife persecuted by her husband; of a Queen excluded from her throne; and that he had with him the sympathies and good wishes of almost the entire nation.

This celebrated trial commenced in the House of Lords, on

the 17th of August, 1820, and continued nearly three months. Mr. Brougham exerted himself throughout with the most untiring zeal. His principal speech in the defence consumed the greater part of two days. When he had wrought his crowded audience to the highest pitch of intense excitement and breathless expectation, he concluded amid a deep silence that might almost be felt, by solemnly adjuring the Lords to forbear; he warned them that they stood on the brink of a precipice;—they might go on to pronounce judgment against their Queen, but it would be the last judgment they would ever pronounce;—he entreated them to save the country and themselves; he reminded them, that when the prayers of the Church were denied to the Queen, the prayers of the people went up to Heaven for her; and he ended by solemnly invoking Heaven, that mercies might descend on the people of England richer than their rulers had deserved, and that the hearts of the Judges might be turned to justice. We shall not attempt to describe the effect of this eloquent speech. The final issue is well known. The Ministry thought fit to withdraw the bill, and thus closed these shameful proceedings, to the great joy of the whole nation. The unfortunate Queen's cup of sorrow, however, was not yet full. She was doomed to experience yet other humiliations. She was excluded from participation in the coronation; and she was refused permission to be present at the ceremony. She even suffered the personal mortification of being denied admittance to Westminster Abbey. Under this accumulated weight of affliction and grievance, she sunk and died. Mr. Brougham, in an address to the electors of Yorkshire, called it '*murder*.' Perhaps the public opinion of the world has sanctioned the severity of the phrase.

We must pass over with a bare mention, Mr. Brougham's efforts in 1822 to throw open the Beer Trade. We can only glance at his eloquent pleading for oppressed Spain in 1823. In 1816, he had exposed the purpose of the unholy league impiously denominated the Christian Treaty; it was now his fortune to see his apprehensions realized, his prophecy fulfilled. It was in vain that he undertook the cause of the struggling Spaniards in the House of Commons. The fetters they had broken and flung off, were forged anew, and a French army was sent to rivet them again more firmly than ever. But we must pass by all this, and come at once to what

he has done, and is now doing, for a Reform of the English Law.

The common law of England, originating in a barbarous age, in a state of society when commerce and manufactures were unknown, and men were divided into despised tillers of the ground and fierce wielders of the sword, is not, and could not be expected to be adapted to the exigencies of a civilized, manufacturing, and commercial community. As at present administered, the common law may almost be said to be a common nuisance. True, many additions and alterations have been made in the process of time. It is quite a different thing from what it was; but it can hardly be said to be a better thing. It is now an immense patch-work; the parts have been collected from a great variety of codes, fitted to a great variety of times and circumstances. Some of it is Danish, some Saxon, some Norman, and some Roman. Some of it is ancient, and some of it is modern. It is like a coat made of old cloth and new cloth; with sleeves for a baby, skirts for a boy, and a body for a man. It is like such a coat in another respect too;—it is found to fit nobody. The administration of the law is more wretchedly defective than the law itself. Justice is sold at an enormous price. The witty saying of Horne Tooke is too true. To one who said, 'the Courts are open,' he replied, 'Aye, like the London Tavern,—to all who can pay the bill.' So high are these bills, so great is the expense of legal proceedings, that it is frequently better to pocket an injury quietly and say nothing about it, than to attempt to obtain redress at law. If any one in England have a hundred dollars owing to him, and his debtor refuse to pay, it is cheaper to let it go than to sue for it. If any one have paid a hundred dollars and taken a receipt, and the man who has been paid demand a second payment, it is cheaper to pay the money over again, than to go to law and defend the suit successfully. So that it was not fancy, but sober truth that guided Dean Swift's pen, when he represented the father of the famous Gulliver as ruined, by *gaining* a Chancery suit *with costs*. To put the matter more plainly before our readers, we will narrate the leading circumstances of one case in which Mr. Brougham was himself employed, and of which a meagre account may be found in Mr. Starkie's very valuable book on Evidence. We shall use nearly the language of Mr. Brougham's speech on the Reform of the Law, in which we find a more detailed statement of the transaction.

The case was in the Court of Exchequer, and Mr. Brougham was counsel for the defendant. It became his duty to examine a witness for the crown, who exhibited strong indications of perjury; but the verdict went against him, notwithstanding. On a new trial, however, the suspicion of perjury before entertained was turned into certainty, and the defendant was acquitted. A prosecution for perjury was instituted against that witness and seventeen others connected with him. Eighteen indictments were found, and the Crown removed the whole into the King's Bench. The Attorney-General conducted the prosecution. On the first indictment, Meade, the perjured witness already mentioned, was clearly convicted. The other seventeen were then to have been tried, but the Crown had made them all special jury cases, and, of course, there was not a sufficient number of jurors present. A warrant was prayed, as is usual, we believe, in such cases, that the jury box should be filled from the by-standers; but the Crown refused the warrant. Thus an expense of near fifty thousand dollars was incurred, and a hundred witnesses were brought from a great distance to London, all for nothing, except after the vexation, and trouble, and delay he had endured, to work the ruin of the prosecutor, who had at first been harrassed on the testimony of the perjured witnesses. These poor farmers had no more money to spend in law; all the other prosecutions were dropped. Even the wretch who had been convicted, obtained a rule for a new trial; but funds were wanting to meet him again, and he too escaped; so that public justice was utterly frustrated, as well as the most grievous wrong inflicted on individuals. Nor did it end here. The poor farmer was fated to lose his life by the transaction. He lived in the same village with Meade, the false witness; and, one evening, in consequence, as was alleged, of some song sung by him in the streets, this man, Meade, seized a gun and shot him dead on the spot. He was acquitted of murder on the ground of provocation; but found guilty of man-slaughter, and sentenced to an imprisonment of two years. A case of more complicated and enormous hardship, one fraught with more cruel injustice to the parties, can scarcely be imagined to have occurred in any country. Nor is this a very uncommon case. We have not sought through many volumes to find it. Such cases occur frequently. The Courts are familiar with them. The Reports are full of them. They have almost ceased to

be shocking to the administrators of the law. 'So anxious,'—we quote from Blackstone by way of commentary,—'so anxious is the law of England to maintain and restore to every individual the enjoyment of his civil rights, without intrenching upon those of any other individual in the nation; so parentally solicitous is our whole legal Constitution to preserve that spirit of equal liberty which is the singular felicity of the British nation!'

Strange that Mr. Brougham should desire to interfere with such striking manifestations of parental solicitude! Strange that the people of England should desire to rid themselves of the guardianship and tender care of so kind a parent! Yet strange though it be, it is not the less true. The people and their great advocate, influenced, doubtless, by some singular obliquity of moral vision, thought they saw great and grievous defects and vices in that system, which, to the clearer eye of Sir William Blackstone, seemed so perfect and so goodly. And Mr. Brougham set himself strenuously to the work of reform. He began by a speech in the House of Commons, the report of which fills one hundred and thirty-nine closely printed pages. It is, perhaps, not saying too much of this speech to affirm, that there is not one either ancient or modern, that contains a larger amount of information, all bearing with admirable adaptedness and resistless effect, upon the very question under consideration. In this speech, he brought before the House the whole condition of the common law. No nook of the immense field had escaped his observation. He went into every dark corner and hidden recess, as into familiar and frequented haunts. And to this great knowledge of what the law was, he added a clear and sound understanding of what the law should be. While he pointed to the evil, he did not omit to indicate the remedy. All that he said was said with so much distinctness and simplicity, that no idea could be misunderstood; yet with such force and energy, that no mind could remain unimpressed. He concluded with his celebrated motion for the Reform of the Law; 'That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, praying that he will be graciously pleased to issue a commission for inquiring into the defects occasioned by time, or otherwise, in the laws of this realm, and into the measures necessary for removing the same.' He afterwards, for the sake of conciliation, made this motion less broad, by substituting the administration of

justice in the Superior Courts, and the Law of Real Property, as objects of inquiry, instead of the Laws of the Realm generally. Thus modified, the motion was carried unanimously. Two commissions were issued by the crown, and the Reports of the Commissioners have been elaborate and valuable. There is a spirit now awake on this subject, that will not slumber again, until, instead of the present cumbrous and unintelligible system of law, and courts like that far-famed labyrinth, into which if a man once entered he never found his way out again, England shall have a simple and intelligible code of laws, and a cheap and prompt administration of justice. Mr. Brougham has already done much. He well understood what was to be done, and how it was to be done; and he went to work cautiously, as a man should, who is dealing with the veins and arteries of the social system. Last June, he brought before the House the result of his labors. His bill proposes to divide England into judicial districts of a convenient size. He would have only one Judge, who should have power to try and determine, with the aid of a jury, all causes of a certain importance. If the parties desire it, the Judge may hear and determine any cause without a jury. When required, the Judge must also act as an arbitrator, and his award will have the force of a judgment. But the most remarkable feature of the plan is this. Any party may cite another against whom he has any claim or complaint, or from whom he apprehends any claim or complaint, before the Judge. When there, they are to state their case in their own way, without any lawyer, and the Judge, having heard them both, is to give them his advice like a friend. If they agree to abide by it, this advice acquires the force of a regular adjudication. This part of the plan seems admirable in theory, and has worked well wherever it has been reduced to practice.

We see no reason why such a plan might not be introduced into the courts of our country to great advantage. While we have great and just cause of grateful triumph, that so much of the absurdity and evil, pointed out by Mr. Brougham in the system of English law, has been purged from our jurisprudence, we have also reason to be ashamed that so much remains. Our modes of distributing justice, especially, are far from perfect. And we may hope that it is not very presumptuous to imagine, nor an unpardonable irreverence of antiquity to suggest, that the present generation may improve what a former generation

has left susceptible of improvement. If our laws and courts should be so improved, that Justice could no longer be represented, and truly represented, as limping tardily along after a nimble rogue, and only catching him, if she catch him at all, when he can get no farther, in the last court of appellate jurisdiction, we may hope, also, that no lawyer would be found weeping in secret over shrunk fees and a lean docket.

But let us return to Mr. Brougham. We have already adverted to his efforts in Parliament in behalf of popular education. We shall now give some account of his more successful, and, as it seems to us, more important labors, out of Parliament, in the same cause. His views on the subject of education, as, indeed, on every other subject, are exceedingly broad and comprehensive. He fixes the period of commencement at the dawn of the intellect, and looks upon an education as complete only when life is ended. He would have the infant go to school, the boy go to school, and the man go to school. He would have established, every where, infant schools, elementary schools, and adult schools. Of the first, he has been from the beginning a zealous, constant, and efficient friend; to his exertions in behalf of the second, the Journals of Parliament bear witness; of what he has done for the third, we are now to speak. And to begin, we will explain what we understand by an adult school. We understand, then, any association of grown-up persons for the purpose of acquiring knowledge. The Lyceums and Mechanics' Institutes, which, within these five years, have begun to be established in our country, are adult schools; and there are adult schools under other names, which we cannot now stop to enumerate. Mr. Brougham thought that the best thing he could do, was to publish some plain account of such associations, proving their great utility, feasibility, and cheapness, with some directions for the management of their concerns. This he did in a pamphlet entitled 'Practical Observations on Popular Education;' a work unadorned and simple in its diction, as it is powerful in its argument, and beneficial in its tendency. Nearly the same course is recommended, that has been generally pursued in the American Lyceums; to establish a course of lectures, make a beginning, and then to get a library and apparatus, the best that can be afforded, as soon as possible. In England, the great difficulty was to get books. There was, and perhaps is now, a heavy tax on paper, greatly increasing

their price; and this tax is as heavy on the coarsest as on the finest sorts. To get rid of this difficulty as far as possible, a society was formed, having for its grand object the circulation of cheap publications, containing a large amount of information, compressed into a small space, by crowding the page. This society, 'the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge,' owes its origin to the sole suggestion of Mr. Brougham; a suggestion, that may justly be ranked among those great conceptions, which shed unfading glory upon a noble band of deeply thinking men of all ages, and have influenced, do now influence, and will continue to influence the condition of man forever. That this praise may not seem extravagant, let us attend to what the society has done. Immediately after its formation, it commenced the publication of the 'Library of Useful Knowledge.' This series of treatises is published on good paper, with a handsome type, and has reached the eighty-second number. Each number contains about as much matter as a common octavo volume of twice the number of pages and costing five times as much. Each treatise is complete. Some require one number only; some two, and some more. The biographies are generally complete in one number, though that of Galileo extends through nearly four. The subject of hydraulics is treated in one number; the American Revolution in two; arithmetic and algebra in four; and the history of Greece in nine. These are a few only of the subjects treated. When a volume is complete, an excellent Glossary, containing a neat explanation of every phrase, likely to be at all unintelligible, is published, together with an Index to the whole volume. Such a Glossary and Index have been published to the volumes on Natural Philosophy and Geometry, and an Index to the History of Greece. These treatises are admirable on account of their concise fulness, and the ability and vigor with which the several subjects are handled. Nor are they less worthy of admiration on account of their cheapness. In London they can be had for sixpence a number, containing thirty-two pages, with double columns and small print; and in our country, for fourteen or fifteen cents. It has sometimes been objected to these works, that they are not intelligible enough. The objection serves only to expose the shallowness of the objector; and may be completely refuted by the bare statement of the fact, that in the single city of Glasgow, more than five hundred copies of the work are circulated, principally among the mechanics. Those, however, who do not relish

such plain fare as they find in the Library of Useful Knowledge, may find the Library of Entertaining Knowledge suited to their taste. It is published by the same society, and 'contains,' to use the words of the Committee, 'as much entertaining matter as can be given along with useful knowledge, and as much knowledge as can be conveyed in an amusing form.' This work is published in small monthly numbers. A series of most valuable maps has also been commenced, and has reached the eighth number. A series, designed for the special use of farmers, is likewise in the course of publication. It contains a large quantity of agricultural information, and some of the more recent numbers furnish detailed and minute accounts of the whole management of some of the best farms in England. And last, but not least, this society has published an almanac, full of valuable facts, statistical details, and wise instruction, which has had the excellent effect of driving from their last hold the foolish vaticination and the idle superstition, that had retired from the halls of high philosophy, and entrenched themselves strongly in publications of this sort. It is proof enough of the great value and high popularity of all these works, that the average sale or circulation of each rather exceeds twenty thousand copies; making a grand total, exclusive of maps, of almost a million little books, on the most important and interesting subjects of useful knowledge, put into circulation every year, by the agency of this single society; books, too, not likely to be thrown away after a careless perusal, and forgotten, but to be carefully preserved by each subscriber to constitute a valued part of his family library. Who can calculate the salutary influence of such a society on the public mind?

And this is the splendid result of Mr. Brougham's suggestion. The whole has been brought about under his immediate superintendence; and not a little of it has been his individual work. If the whole labors of a long protracted and laborious life had been directed to this result, they would have been well directed. By originating this magnificent scheme of public instruction, Mr. Brougham has brought the whole world in his debt. And how incalculably is that debt swelled, when we reflect, that the operation of this mighty agency has but just begun to develope itself; that it will continue to act, with undiminished force, and over an ever widening extent,

> 'When we and ours have rendered up our trust,
> And men unborn shall tread above our dust.'

We cannot leave this part of our subject, without mentioning, though we can do no more than mention it, that Mr. Brougham was the father of the London University; an institution, which has had the good effect of calling into existence a rival seminary of learning, King's College; while it has placed the benefits of a scientific education within the reach of thousands, who had, before that time, been excluded from any participation in its advantages.

We are now to contemplate Mr. Brougham for a moment, as the able champion of the injured and down-trodden children of Africa. From the commencement of his parliamentary career, he has been the strenuous and eloquent advocate of every measure tending to meliorate their condition. In 1810, in consequence of the attempts to evade the prohibition of the Abolition Acts, he moved in the House of Commons, 'that this House will, early in the next session of Parliament, take into consideration such measures as may tend effectually to prevent such daring violations of the law.' In the course of the debate on this motion, he pledged himself to bring in a bill for punishing slave-trading as felony. The motion was carried unanimously, and in the next session, he did introduce a bill, declaring 'all dealing in slaves by British subjects, or persons within the British dominions, a felony, punishable by transportation, or imprisonment and hard labor, at the discretion of the court which tries the offence.' This bill passed into a law, and has the high merit of being the earliest public recognition of the principle, that the traffickers in human flesh are pirates, and ought to be treated as such. Mr. Brougham subsequently turned his attention to the condition of the slaves in the West Indies. His humane exertions in behalf of that friendless and unfortunate race of men are above all praise. But a few months have gone by, since he moved, in the House of Commons, 'That this House do resolve, at the earliest practicable period of the next session, to take into serious consideration the state of the slaves in the Colonies of Great Britain, in order to the mitigation and final abolition of their slavery, and more especially in order to the amendment of the administration of justice within the same.' In his speech in support of this motion, he placed the question on higher ground than that of simple expediency. He went to the bottom of the merits of the case, and denied utterly the fundamental principle of slavery, that man may be the subject of property. 'There is,'

he exclaimed, 'a law above all the enactments of human codes; the same throughout the world, the same in all times; such as it was before the daring genius of Columbus pierced the night of ages, and opened to one world the sources of power, wealth, and knowledge, to another, all unutterable woes; such it is at this day; it is the law written by the finger of God on the heart of man; and by that law, unchangeable and eternal, while men despise fraud, and loathe rapine, and abhor blood, they shall reject, with indignation, the wild and guilty fantasy that man can hold property in man!' This motion, however, was negatived; and here the subject rests for the present; but there is every reason to believe, that public opinion will finally force Parliament to adopt the measures, which it contemplated.

Our readers are all familiar with the events of the last few months. They all know that Mr. Brougham was returned, almost unanimously, to Parliament, from Yorkshire; they are informed of the rapid decline of the Duke of Wellington's administration in popular favor, of the circumstances attending its final overthrow, and of the formation of a Whig Ministry with Earl Grey at its head; they know that Mr. Brougham is one of the new Ministers,—that he has been made Lord Chancellor of England and created a Peer, by the title of Lord Brougham and Vaux. Many doubt, whether the administration of Lord Grey will accomplish, or even attempt any very thorough reform; and the experience of all past time justifies the doubt. The instances of political tergiversation are too frequent in the history of parties not to occasion some apprehension. It has been said, that a mitre will make any man a high Churchman. In the soft seats of power men are apt to become lazy and indifferent to schemes, of which, when out of place, they have been zealous champions. But while these considerations move our fears, we are not without hope. For, in the first place, we look to the power of public opinion, —a mighty power, which no ruler or set of rulers can now-a-days brave,—to keep them in the straight-forward path of duty. And, in the next place, they are pledged, in the face of the world, not, indeed, to any wild or revolutionary measures, but to a thorough purgation and reform in the existing system of things, and if they now hesitate, or falter, or go back, their shame and disgrace will be trumpeted forth so loudly, that even the settlers on the banks of the Missouri will hear of it. Whatever other Ministers may do, we cannot entertain a doubt,

that Lord Brougham will go straight on in his old course. The momentum he has acquired in it, is too great to allow him to stop if he would. Having already done so much, he must do more. And this, our confident expectation, is founded upon our knowledge of what he is and what are his deeds.*

Let us state the sum. His character has powerfully influenced the character of his age. His example of earnest, devoted, persevering labor to accomplish noble ends by noble means, has been long before the world. If we were called upon to name the man, who, in our opinion, has done more for the human race, we confess we should not know where to look. Franklin alone, in modern times, may be compared to him as an instance of what one man, animated by a noble and enlarged philanthropy, may accomplish for his fellow-men; and, in his great efforts for the diffusion of knowledge, he seems, constantly, to have held the example of Franklin in full view.

From his youth up, he has shunned no toil however severe. His whole life has been a life of intense labor, a series of great exertions. He has evinced on all occasions, a large and comprehensive benevolence; a sound and practical judgment; united with a genius of the loftiest and most universal character. We do not know that a single one of the numerous schemes of momentous importance, which he has originated, can be said to have finally failed. It may be added,—and it is a far nobler tribute to his character,—that there is not one of them all, which has not for its object, an improvement in the condition of some large portion of the community. Of the universality of his genius, the universality of his attainments furnishes sufficient evidence. He is one of the most profoundly scientific men of his day. Long and severe study has familiarized him with the teachings of the dead and of the living. He has succeeded, if we may so speak, in transfusing into himself the spirit of ancient literature; and no inconsiderable portion of the modern is his own work. He seems to know the history of past ages as if he had lived in them; and his published writings show how thoroughly he understands the condition of the present. He is a master of the English

* The reader will perceive that this paragraph was written before the British ministers had brought forward their plan of reform, which has, we doubt not, fully realized the expectations of our learned correspondent, and of the friends of freedom throughout the world.

law, the most complicated and difficult of all the sciences; a science, to ascend whose heights and fathom whose depths, demands strong powers strongly exerted. These are his attainments. The sum so far outgoes the ordinary reach, even in cases where no little talent is combined with no little industry, that we should suspect ourselves of over-statement, did we not find, that other writers with better opportunities, more than bear us out. The author of 'Attic Fragments,' who cannot be said to be over-partial to Mr. Brougham, says, that 'one would imagine that he had realized the ancient Scythian fable, by killing the foremost man in every department of knowledge, and possessing himself of all their intellectual inheritances.' It matters not what the subject is, however sublime or however commonplace, however abstruse or however practical. Brougham knows it, and knows it completely.

But what deserves our more especial notice and admiration is, not the splendor of his natural endowments, not the vast extent and rich variety of his acquisitions; but the use to which he has devoted them all. He has set them apart for the service of mankind. He has a title more glorious than kings can give or schools bestow,—a title conferred upon him by the unsolicited suffrage of the world. He is the advocate of human liberty. It cannot be said of him, as of Burke, that he

> ——— narrowed his mind,
> And to party gave up what was meant for mankind.

No; what was meant for mankind, he has given to mankind. We have adverted to his exertions in behalf of the suffering slaves; but it is not in this poor sense alone that he deserves his glorious title. He would not emancipate the body only; he would set free the mind, and he would set it free by making it capable and worthy of freedom. His great principle seems to be, let an enslaved nation be enlightened, and there is no power on earth, that can detain it from freedom; let a free people be enlightened, and there is no power on earth that can reduce it to bondage. And therefore it is, that he has labored so earnestly to diffuse knowledge far and wide. The old Roman cry was, 'Give the people Tribunes, to guard their rights.' Mr. Brougham exclaims, give the people knowledge, and they will guard their rights for themselves. He said long ago, 'Tyrants may well tremble now, for the school

master is abroad.' And more than any man, he has aided in sending him abroad. He prepared the way in England, by his laborious investigations into the condition of the public charities; and, though those who fear the power of the schoolmaster have, as yet, by clamorous appeals to interest, and ignorance, and prejudice, greatly obstructed his efforts to induce Government to take a share in the glorious work of instructing the people, there is now no longer any reason to apprehend, that this part also of his great plan will not finally be adopted. In the meantime, as if he thought life not long enough to study in, he has recommended and promoted the establishment of infant schools, that instruction may begin with the very first developement of the capacity to receive it. At his suggestion, too, a society has been formed, which is as a schoolmaster, not only to England, but to France and to America. To him, likewise, may be referred the origin of most of those numerous associations, which, under different names, have for their common object self-instruction and mutual improvement. The united influence of all these agents is like that tree of the East, whose branches, after spreading on all sides, bend to the earth, and take root again and spread still further; yet again to take root at a still greater distance from the parent stem, and to spread yet wider still. Its effects are already visible in the increased demand for useful information, in the augmented, and augmenting number of new publications to satisfy that demand, and in the generally improved character of the periodical press. He would be a bold man who should venture to say when, or where, or by what boundary, the operation of this influence is to be circumscribed.

And all this Mr. Brougham has accomplished while yet in the vigor of life. What, then, may not be expected of him, should he be spared to the green old age of Franklin? Hitherto he has neither had official rank or official influence to aid him. Now he has both. And we cannot believe that he will do less, because he has power to do more. He has hitherto been an independent man. To secure his independence, he has labored hard in his profession. We cannot think that he will cease to be so; that he will approach the throne without carrying his principles along with him. It seems to us little less than absurd, to say of a man, whose hours, devoted to the advancement of the best interests of mankind, have been 'frequently stolen from needful rest,' that he will not devote

to the same great cause, the accidental influence of office; or that he, of whom we are told that 'he has hung over the lamp of study, till not all the bloom of life merely, but even the energy of life itself, seems on the very verge of extinction,' will now turn away from his glorious work, and so blast the splendid fame and the lofty self-approbation, for which he has made all this sacrifice. No; we find ourselves utterly unable to believe, that he has made such an oblation to the lust of power. And we look to see him laboring strenuously as heretofore, in the same great cause; and finding an abundant reward for his toils in the applause of his own heart and in the admiration and gratitude of mankind.

We would here conclude our remarks; for we have spoken of all the most prominent incidents of his life and of the public character of the *man*, if not as we would, yet as we could; but our readers will expect some account of the *orator*, and we are not willing to disappoint their expectations. Mr. Brougham's figure is said to be any thing but graceful. His features are almost harsh and repulsive; yet so strongly marked, that no man can see him, though but once, and go away under the impression that he has left an ordinary man. His action is not very elegant; but if we include under that name the whole of delivery, gesture, the tone of the voice and the expression of the countenance, then his power in this department is probably not inferior to that which is displayed in his reasoning and language. The action of his mind, and especially the tremendous talent of invective, by which he is eminently distinguished, have never been better or more forcibly described than by the author of the Attic Fragments. We shall make no apology, therefore, for laying an extract before our readers, and with it we shall conclude. It is taken from a description of Brougham's terrible attack upon Canning in the year 1823. The cause of the attack will be explained in the quotation. The two men are first exhibited in contrast.

'Canning chose his words for the sweetness of their sound, and arranged his periods for the melody of their cadence; while, with Brougham, the more hard and unmouthable the better. Canning arranged his words like one who could play skilfully upon that sweetest of all instruments, the human voice; Brougham proceeded like a master of every power of reasoning, and of the understanding. The figures and allusions of the one were always quadrable by the classical *formulæ;* those of the other could be

squared only by the higher analysis of the mind; and they soared and ran, and pealed and swelled on and on, till a single sentence was often a complete oration within itself; but still, so clear was the logic, and so close the connexion, that every member carried the weight of all that went before, and opened the way for all that was to follow after. The style of Canning was like the convex mirror, which scatters every ray of light that falls upon it, and shines and sparkles in whatever position it is viewed. That of Brougham was like the concave speculum, scattering no indiscriminate radiance, but having its light concentrated into one intense and tremendous focus. Canning marched forward in a straight and clear track; every paragraph was perfect in itself, and every coruscation of wit and genius was brilliant and delightful; it was all felt, and it was felt at once; Brougham twined round and round in a spiral, sweeping the contents of a vast circumference before him, and uniting and pouring them onward to the main point of attack. When he began, one was astonished at the wideness and obliquity of his course, nor was it possible to comprehend how he was to dispose of the vast and varied materials which he collected by the way; but as the curve lessened, and the end appeared, it became obvious that all was to be efficient there.

'Such were the rival orators, who sat glancing hostility and defiance at each other during the early part of the session for 1823. Brougham, as if wishing to overthrow the Secretary by a sweeping accusation of having abandoned all principle for the sake of office; and the Secretary ready to parry the charge, and attack in his turn. An opportunity at length offered; and it is the more worthy of being recorded, as being the last terrible personal attack previous to that change in the measures of the cabinet, which, though it had begun from the moment that Canning, Robinson, and Huskisson came into office, was not at that time perceived, or at least admitted and appreciated. Upon that occasion, the oration of Brougham was, at the outset, disjointed and ragged, and apparently without aim or application. He careered over the whole annals of the world, and collected every instance in which genius had degraded itself, at the footstool of power, or principle had been sacrificed to the vanity or the lucre of place; but still there was no allusion to Canning, and no connexion, that ordinary men could discover, with the business before the House. When, however, he had collected every material which suited his purpose, when the mass had become big and black, he bound it about and about with the cords of illustration and argument; and when its union was secure, he swung it round and round with the strength of a giant and the rapidity of

a whirlwind, in order that its impetus and its effects might be the more tremendous; and while doing this, he ever and anon glared and pointed his finger to make the aim and the direction sure. Canning himself was the first that seemed to be aware where and how terrible was to be the collision; and he kept writhing his body in agony, and rolling his eyes in fear, as if anxious to find some shelter from the impending bolt. The House soon caught the impression, and every man in it was glancing fearfully, first toward the orator, and then towards the Secretary. There was, save the voice of Brougham, which growled in that under tone of muttered thunder which is so fearfully audible, and of which no speaker of the day was fully master but himself, a silence as if the angel of retribution had been flaring in the faces of all parties the scroll of their personal and political sins. A pen, which one of the secretaries dropped upon the matting, was heard in the remotest part of the House; and the *voting* members, who often slept in the side galleries during the debate, started up as though the final trump had been sounding them to give an account of their deeds. The stiffness of Brougham's figure had vanished; his features seemed concentrated almost to a point; he glanced toward every part of the House in succession; and sounding the death-knell of the Secretary's forbearance and prudence, with both his clenched hands upon the table, he hurled at him an accusation more dreadful in its gall, and more torturing in its effects, than ever had been hurled at mortal man within the same walls. The result was instantaneous,—was electric. It was as when the thunder-cloud descends upon some giant peak,—one flash,—one peal,—the sublimity vanished, and all that remained was a small and cold pattering of rain. Canning started to his feet, and was able to utter only the unguarded words, "It is false!" to which followed a dull chapter of apologies.'

ART. XI.—*North-eastern and Northern Boundary.*

1. *Decision of His Majesty the King of the Netherlands, on the Questions submitted to him by the Governments of the United States and Great Britain, for determining the Boundary Line between the United States and the British Provinces.*
2. *Protest of the Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States, against the Decision of the King of the Netherlands, on the Questions submitted to him, as Arbiter between the United States and Great Britain, relative to the Boundary of the United States.*
3. *Report of a Joint Committee of the Legislature of the State of Maine, on the answer made by the King of the Netherlands, in relation to the North-eastern Boundary of the United States; read and accepted by both Branches of the Legislature.*

In the treaty of peace between the United States and Great Britain, of September 3, 1783, a part of the boundary line, between the territory conceded to the former, and the provinces of the latter, is described in the following words. 'From the north-west angle of Nova Scotia, viz. that angle which is formed by a line drawn due north from the source of St. Croix river to the highlands; along the said highlands, which divide those rivers that empty themselves into the St Lawrence, from those which fall into the Atlantic ocean, to the north-westernmost head of Connecticut river, thence down along the middle of that river, to the forty-fifth degree of north latitude; from thence, by a line due west on said latitude, until it strikes the river Iroquois or Cataraquy,' &c.; and 'east, by a line to be drawn along the middle of the river St. Croix, from its mouth in the bay of Fundy to its source, and from its source, directly north, to the aforesaid highlands, which divide the rivers that fall into the Atlantic ocean, from those which fall into the river St. Lawrence.'

This description, specific as it seems, and the less liable to uncertainty, from being a repetition and confirmation of the boundaries previously established, and at the time subsisting between the Colonies whose independence was acknowledged, and the provinces of Nova Scotia and Lower Canada, has given occasion to doubts on several points, and to controversies

of long standing between the two countries. The first question which came into dispute was, which of the rivers falling into Passamaquoddy bay, was to be taken as the St. Croix river, described in the treaty. For the settlement of this controversy, it was provided in the fifth article of Mr. Jay's treaty, made in 1794, that three Commissioners should be appointed, who should be sworn impartially to examine and decide the question. The Commissioners so appointed, unanimously decided, in the year 1798, that the northern branch of the Schoodick river, it being the main branch of the river, known at its mouth as the St. Croix, should be regarded as the St. Croix river intended by the treaty. This branch they traced to its source, and there established a monument, for determining the point from which the due north line of the treaty should run.

From this time to the date of the treaty of Ghent, in 1814, no measures were taken for marking the boundary between the two countries, from this monument to the highlands,—along the highlands to the source of the Connecticut river,—along the Connecticut to the forty-fifth degree of latitude,—or along the forty-fifth degree of latitude to the Iroquois, Cataraquy, or St. Lawrence river. A number of townships, however, were surveyed, by authority of the State of Massachusetts, and granted to literary institutions, bordering on the supposed due north line, from the source of the St. Croix. In the years 1771 to 1774, a line was run, in compliance with an order of the King in council, under the direction of the Provincial Governor, on the supposed forty-fifth parallel of latitude, between Lower Canada on the north, and Vermont and New-York on the south; and this line continued to be the limit of the jurisdiction of the respective Governments, subsequently to the peace of 1783, and in fact, so continues to this time. But this line was long since known to have been unskilfully and inaccurately run, and was, therefore, not considered as definitively settled. It remained, also, to be determined, which of the four branches of Connecticut river should be taken as the 'north-westernmost head' of that river. By the fifth article of the treaty of Ghent, it was provided, that two Commissioners should be appointed, sworn, and authorized to ascertain the line of boundary, from the St. Croix river on the east, to the point where the forty-fifth parallel of latitude strikes the St. Lawrence on the west, in conformity with the provisions of the treaty of 1783, and to cause it to be surveyed and marked.

It was also made their duty to prepare a map of the boundary, particularizing the latitude and longitude of the north-west angle of Nova Scotia, of the north-westernmost head of the Connecticut river, and of such other points of the boundary as they might deem proper. The extent of the boundary line, thus to be ascertained, surveyed and marked, was about six hundred miles. It was further stipulated in the treaty, that in the event of the two Commissioners, so to be appointed, differing, or both or either of them declining, or wilfully omitting to act, they should make, jointly or separately, a report or reports to their respective Governments, stating the points on which they might differ, and the grounds upon which their respective opinions should be formed; and the report or reports so to be made, should be referred by the two Governments to some friendly sovereign or State, to be then named for the purpose, and who should be requested to decide on the differences, which should be stated in the report or reports of the Commissioners.

Under this provision of the treaty of Ghent, Commissioners were appointed by the two Governments, who were several years employed in making the necessary examinations and surveys, preparatory to a delineation of the line of boundary. The public have not been furnished with reports of the Commissioners, containing the results of these examinations, or with any very specific statement of the points on which they disagreed. It was early understood, however, that there was an irreconcilable difference between them, in regard to the highlands, described in the treaty, as dividing the waters which fall into the St. Lawrence, from those which fall into the Atlantic ocean; the British Commissioner maintaining that the highlands on the south of the river St. John are intended, and that the whole course of that river should be made to fall within the limits of the British provinces; and the Commissioner of the United States maintaining that the north-west angle of Nova Scotia is situated at the north of the St. John, and that the highlands described in the treaty, are those which form the northern and western boundaries of the basin of that river. They also differed in the designation of the branch of Connecticut river, north of the forty-fifth degree of latitude, which is to be considered as the north-westernmost source of the river described in the treaty.

The American Commissioner contended, that Hall's river

or Indian river, westerly branches of the Connecticut, which unite with the main branch near the forty-fifth degree of latitude, best answer the description. The British Commissioner, on the other hand, maintained that the line of boundary should follow the main branch of the river, so far as it retains the name of Connecticut, viz. to Connecticut lake; and that the north-westernmost source should be taken to be the north-westernmost stream which flows into this lake. The American and British astronomers, on making a variety of observations for determining the forty-fifth parallel of latitude, ascertained that the northern boundary of Vermont had been laid down, in nearly its whole extent, from half a mile to a mile too far north, and that, on the side of New York, the line was materially inaccurate. The extent of this deviation is shown on Hale's Map of New England, on which the existing line is laid down to correspond with its position in reference to the true forty-fifth parallel of latitude, as ascertained by these observations. Before the surveys were completed, the American Commissioner objected to a further prosecution of them, on the ground that it was ascertained that the line along this parallel of latitude had been determined by proper observations, and ratified by the Crown of Great Britain, while the adjoining countries were British provinces; that it had been for nearly sixty years the acknowledged boundary between them, and that there would be no difficulty in ascertaining the line so determined. The American agent contended also, that if the ground above stated were to be waived, and the line run anew, it ought to be run on the parallel of the '*geocentric* latitude,' as contra-distinguished from the '*observed* latitude.' This last claim, however, was not countenanced or supported by the American Government.

The Commissioners of the two powers were occupied in these investigations from the year 1816 to 1822; when, after long discussions, in which they found it impracticable to come to an agreement on the several points above stated, they made separate reports of their proceedings to their respective Governments. According to the terms of the treaty of Ghent, these reports should have been submitted to some friendly sovereign or State, to be named for that purpose, who should be requested to decide on the differences stated in them. But neither Government seems to have been entirely satisfied with the statement of the case, contained in the report of its Com-

missioner; and a new arrangement was entered into, by a convention between the two Governments, which was executed on the 29th of September, 1827. By this convention, it was agreed to substitute for the reports of the Commissioners, new statements of the whole case, and to annex to those statements such of the existing documents, and such parts of the reports of the Commissioners, as each party might choose. It was also agreed between the two parties, that a map marked A, drawn up for the purpose of exhibiting the several highlands and water-courses, and the line contended for by them respectively, should be taken as mutually acknowledged evidence of the topography of the country, and that Mitchell's map, published in 1755, should be taken as an exhibition of the topography, as it was understood by the framers of the treaty of 1783. Map A does not in fact contain a very accurate representation of the water-courses, though it is sufficiently accurate for any purposes necessary for a just decision of the question. It may not, however, be found correct enough to serve as a guide for the delineation of the line according to the decision. It had been proved on a former occasion, by the depositions of Messrs. Adams and Jay, that Mitchell's map was before the Commissioners who formed the treaty in 1783.

The two Governments subsequently agreed in the choice of the King of the Netherlands as the arbitrator to whom the question should be submitted, and he accepted the trust. Statements were drawn up under the direction of the two Governments, with great labor, research, and ingenuity. Each party made a first statement of the case, which was submitted to the adverse party; after which, each made a further definitive statement. To these statements were subjoined, as appendices, collections of official documents, grants, historical papers, and maps. Each party furnished from its own archives such documents as were required by the other. From the effort which was made on each part to exhibit as strong a case as possible, the length of time occupied in the investigation, and the number of persons employed in it, under the several commissions which have been appointed, it may be presumed that every fact material to the issue has been collected. The American statements were drawn up and signed by Messrs. Gallatin and Preble, appointed by the Government for the purpose, the latter with a commission as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at the court of the Netherlands. The

British statements were certified by the Earl of Aberdeen, then British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

These statements were laid before the King of the Netherlands on the 1st of April, 1830. On the 10th of January following, he handed to the ministers of the two Governments his decision on the points submitted. We now propose to give a very brief review of the three questions thus decided.

In a former number,* published previously to the drawing up of the statements above referred to, we went into a full examination of the most important of the questions embraced in this decision, namely, that which relates to the line of boundary between the State of Maine and the Provinces of New Brunswick and Lower Canada. In that article, we presented what we conceived to be the material facts and authorities, on which the decision of the question ought to rest, so far as we were able to collect them from public historical documents. The researches of our official agents have brought together a great accession of authorities for the corroboration of facts, which, however, are sufficiently proved by well-known historical documents. These serve to strengthen the case presented by our Commissioners, if any additional proof could be supposed to be necessary; but such an accumulation of proofs seems to be almost superfluous, as the argument in support of the American claim, embracing all the material points, which may be drawn from a few incontestible facts, appears to us to be conclusive, and entirely unshaken by the arguments of the opposite party. The effect of the multiplicity of proofs on the mind of the arbitrator, may have been to divert his attention from the strong points of the case, rather than to fortify the argument. We do not propose to repeat the argument in support of the view of the case which we have taken, and which appears to us to present one of the plainest questions which were ever made the subject of national controversy; nor do we propose to enumerate the new authorities in support of the view already taken, which have been produced by the official investigations, drawn chiefly from the documents furnished from the British offices. We will merely recapitulate a few of the facts, which will show that the line north of the St. John, claimed by the American Government, is as clearly defined by the words used in the treaty of 1783, as it can now be defined

* April, 1828, Vol. XXVI. p. 421.

by any form of words whatever; and that the argument of the British Government, in support of the claim of a line south of the St. John, is not even plausible, or sufficient to excite the slightest doubt in the mind of any one who will look at the facts.

The boundary, as defined in the treaty, is to run 'from the north-west angle of Nova Scotia, viz. that angle, which is formed by a line drawn due north from the source of St. Croix river to the highlands, along the said highlands,' &c. What can be clearer, than that the angle, which is described as the place of beginning, is the point where the western boundary line of Nova Scotia, running due north, meets the northern boundary of Nova Scotia, running from east to west? The two lines, thus forming the angle, are described in the treaty, one as running due north from the St. Croix, and the other as running along the 'highlands, which divide those rivers that empty themselves into the river St. Lawrence from those which fall into the Atlantic ocean.' Now it is argued in support of the British claim, and this constitutes the chief part of their argument, that the St. John is not a river which empties itself into the Atlantic, but one which empties itself into the bay of Fundy. We reply, that it is entirely immaterial to the argument, whether the St. John is properly described as a river emptying itself into the Atlantic, or not, though in point of fact, we insist, that it is properly so described. It does not depend upon this description to show which were the highlands intended. They are clearly the highlands, which, at the time of the treaty, formed the northern boundary of Nova Scotia, and as such formed one of the sides of the angle, which was to constitute the starting point of the boundary described in the treaty. This line is one about which there cannot be, and never has been, the least doubt. It is clearly defined in more than twenty documents of the highest authority, issuing from the British Government, from the year 1763 to the date of the treaty, and uniformly known and recognised, even to the present day. We quoted upon this point in our former article, the king's proclamation of October 7, 1763, establishing the province of Quebec, in which the boundary of that province is described as running 'along the highlands, which divide the rivers that empty themselves into the river St. Lawrence, from those which fall into the sea, and also along the north coast of the bay of Chaleurs;' the act of Parliament of 1774, for making more effectual pro-

vision for the government of the province of Quebec, in which the province is described as 'bounded on the south by a line from the bay of Chaleurs, along the highlands which divide the rivers that empty themselves into the river St. Lawrence, from those which fall into the sea;' and the royal commission to Montague Wilmot, as Governor of Nova Scotia, in which the said province is described as bounded to the northward, 'by the southern boundary of our province of Quebec,' and to the eastward by the river St. Croix to its source, 'and by a line drawn due north from thence to the southern boundary of our colony of Quebec.' Among the documents accompanying the statement of the case submitted to the arbitrator, was a series of royal commissions to the governors of the provinces of Quebec and Nova Scotia, which show, that the limits of the two provinces remained unaltered at the time of the treaty, and we believe they are in fact unaltered to this day. For example, in the commission from the king to Frederick Haldimand, Esq. as governor in chief of the province of Quebec, granted September 18, 1777, the boundaries of the provinces are described in part in the following words: 'bounded on the south by a line from the bay of Chaleurs, along the highlands, which divide the rivers that empty themselves into the river St. Lawrence, from those which fall into the sea, to a point in forty-five degrees of north latitude, on the eastern bank of the river Connecticut.' Mr. Haldimand continued in office, under this commission, until after the treaty, and on the 22d of April, 1786, a commission was granted to his successor, Sir Guy Carleton, in which the same boundary was thus described: 'On the south by a line *from the bay of Chaleurs*, along the highlands, which divide the rivers that empty themselves into the river St. Lawrence, from those which *fall into the Atlantic ocean, to the north-westernmost head of Connecticut river.*' It will be perceived, that here the precise words of the treaty are adopted, words of similar meaning having been used in all the descriptions of the boundary, from the proclamation of 1763; all of them describing a line of highlands extending from the bay of Chaleurs to the head of the Connecticut river. In the commission to John Parr, Esq. dated July 29, 1782, which remained in force at the date of the treaty, he was constituted 'captain-general, and governor in chief of our said province of Nova Scotia, bounded on the westward, by a line drawn

from Cape Sable across the entrance of the bay of Fundy to the mouth of the river St. Croix, by the said river to its source, and by a line drawn due north from thence to the southern boundary of our colony of Quebec, *to the northward by the said boundary, as far as the western extremity of the bay des Chaleurs.*' How is it possible for any one, with these precise descriptions before him, to doubt what is the position of the north-west angle of Nova Scotia, or of the highlands, which indicate the line forming one side of the angle, and along which the boundary of the United States must run, from that angle? It is as certain, that the line of highlands terminates with the bay of Chaleurs, in one extremity, as that it strikes at the head of the Connecticut river at the other. It is consequently as certain, that the highlands described are those north of the St. John, as any fact in geography can be.

Yet, in the face of these authorities, without denying the correctness of one of them, the authors of the British statement contend, that the point designated in the treaties as the north-west angle of Nova Scotia, 'is found at or near an elevation called Mars Hill, which is situated in a due north line from the source of the St. Croix river, and south of the river St. John; that the highlands intended by the treaty are those extending from that point to the Connecticut river; and that the rivers Penobscot, Kennebec, and Androscoggin, are the rivers falling into the Atlantic ocean, which are intended by the treaty to be divided from the rivers which empty themselves into the St. Lawrence.' It would seem to be a sufficient answer to this remarkable pretension, that the point assumed is no angle whatever, but is a point in the middle of what is acknowledged to be the western line of Nova Scotia, running due north and south without any deviation;—that the point assumed is as far distant from the north-west angle of Nova Scotia, as constituted by the royal commissions limiting the jurisdiction of the province, as it is from the north-eastern angle;—and, finally, that the highlands here indicated, do not divide the waters which empty themselves into the St. Lawrence from those which empty themselves into the Atlantic, but divide the waters of the St. John from those of the Penobscot, both being Atlantic rivers, one terminating in the bay of Fundy, and the other in the bay of Penobscot, and each at a small distance from the Atlantic itself. To out-

weigh these objections, the only argument which has the merit of being even plausible is, that in the description of the highlands in the words of the treaty, on the supposition that the American claim is correct, it is necessary to regard the St. John as a river which empties itself into the Atlantic ocean. A great portion of the argument in the British statement is directed to the point, that, as the St. John confessedly terminates in the bay of Fundy, it cannot be included in the description of rivers falling into the Atlantic. It would seem to be a sufficient answer to this argument, that the framers of the treaty could not have been ignorant of the existence of the river St. John, and that in describing either of the ranges of highlands in question, they must have had the waters of this river distinctly in view; yet they have described, in common with the other documents to which we have referred, only two classes of streams, one falling into the St. Lawrence, and the other falling into the Atlantic. The St. John certainly does not, in any possible construction of the words, fall into the St. Lawrence. It does, on the other hand, in a sense in which the language is often, and with entire propriety used, fall into the Atlantic; that is, it falls into the Atlantic through the medium of the bay of Fundy, a small arm of the Atlantic, in the same sense in which the Penobscot falls into the Atlantic through the Penobscot bay, the Androscoggin through the Kennebec river, and the Connecticut through Long Island sound. The description of the St. John, as a river that empties itself into the Atlantic, is intelligible and strictly proper; and although it might with equal propriety have been described as falling into the bay of Fundy, yet when the alternative is to regard it as either a river falling into the Atlantic, or one falling into the St. Lawrence, it must inevitably be regarded as included in the former description. But admitting that this point is doubtful, the designation of the highlands forming one of the sides of the angle, depends less on this description, as we have before shown, than on their forming the northern boundary of Nova Scotia, and being the range of highlands extending from the bay of Chaleurs to the head of the Connecticut river.

Feeble and inconclusive as this argument is, the royal arbitrator seems to have considered it as of some weight, and to have suffered it to divert his mind from the true point of inquiry, viz.; where is the northern boundary of Nova Scotia?—an inquiry indispensable for determining the position of the

angle, which constitutes the point of commencement of the boundary line. He is pleased to consider the historical angle in the treaty of 1783, as a *petition de principe*, which expression, in the translation of the decision, is absurdly enough rendered 'a petition of principle.' It is true, that the angle described is in one sense an assumed point, the precise location of which was to be ascertained by the determination of other points; but the proper location of this point is as exactly determined by the description in the treaty, as if it had been described by the degrees and minutes of latitude and longitude. All that is necessary for establishing this point as a geographical boundary is, to make a practical delineation of the due north line from the source of the St. Croix, and of the boundary from the bay of Chaleurs westerly, between the provinces of Quebec, now called Lower Canada, and Nova Scotia, now called New Brunswick. There might be room for some difference of opinion, as to the precise point at which the highlands should meet the bay of Chaleurs, or the waters of the Ristigouche river; but no man can seriously maintain, that the northern boundary of Nova Scotia or New Brunswick meets the western boundary of the same province south of the St. John river, or that a north-western angle can be formed any where but at the meeting of those two lines.

The arbitrator argues, that the reference in the treaty to the boundaries previously existing between the provinces, does not imply the entire coincidence of the boundaries as settled by the treaty with those ancient boundaries, and mentions instances in which the boundary described in the treaty departs from that previously existing. This is very true, yet when the previously existing boundaries are evidently referred to for the sole purpose of determining a specific point, and are not even proposed to be altered, as is true in regard to the boundaries of Nova Scotia, it seems impossible to doubt, that these lines were to be taken as previously known by precise descriptions, and to serve as a substantial part of the description indicating the future boundary. But the arbitrator sees fit to throw them so far out of consideration, as not to suffer them to explain a supposed ambiguity in another part of the description.

The royal arbitrator having assumed that the description of 'rivers that empty themselves into the Atlantic ocean' does not necessarily include the St. John, and that the reference in

the treaty to the boundaries previously existing between the provinces, does not imply the coincidence of the boundaries as settled by the treaty with those ancient boundaries, goes on thus to state the main principle on which he founds his decision. In quoting this part of the decision, we translate it a little differently from the official version.

'Considering that if, in the second place, in contra-distinction from rivers discharging themselves into the river St. Lawrence, we might, with propriety, according to the language ordinarily used in geography, include the rivers falling into the bays of Fundy and of Chaleurs, with those falling directly into the Atlantic ocean, under the generic denomination of rivers falling into the Atlantic ocean, it would be hazardous to include in this class the rivers St. John and Ristigouche, which the line claimed at the north of the St. John separates immediately from the rivers falling into the river St. Lawrence, not with other rivers flowing into the Atlantic ocean, but alone. For it would be wrong, in interpreting the boundary fixed by a treaty, in which each expression ought to have a meaning, to apply to two particular cases a description which would also include the Schoodac lakes, the Penobscot, and the Kennebec, which fall directly into the Atlantic ocean. We must therefore conclude, that the treaty of 1783 meant highlands separating, as well mediately as immediately, the rivers which empty themselves into the river St. Lawrence, from those which fall into the Atlantic ocean; a principle equally realized by the two lines.'

Having thus come to the conclusion, that both the highlands north of the St. John, and those on the south of that river, come within the description of highlands dividing the waters falling into the St. Lawrence from those falling into the Atlantic, he proceeds to state the considerations on which he rejects the claim, on the part of each, to a preference over the other, and finally comes to the conclusion, that as both lines answer this part of the description, and as there is no sufficient ground for giving one a preference to the other,

'It will be proper to adopt, for the boundary of the two States, a line drawn due north from the source of the river St. Croix, to the point where it strikes the middle of the channel of the river St. John; thence the middle of the channel of that river, ascending it to the point where the river St. Francis falls into the St. John; thence the middle of the river St. Francis, ascending it to the source of the most south-westerly branch, which source we mark on the map A by the letter X, authenticated by the signa-

ture of our Minister of Foreign Affairs; thence a line drawn due west to the point where it unites with the line claimed by the United States of America, and traced on the map A; thence the said line to the point where, according to this map, it coincides with that claimed by Great Britain; and thence the line marked on the said map by the two powers, to the north-westernmost head of the Connecticut river.'

Thus, by adopting a construction not hinted at in the statements of either party; by assuming, contrary to the fact, that if the St. John and Ristigouche are to be considered rivers of the Atlantic, they are the only rivers, answering the description, which are immediately divided by the line north of the St. John, from the rivers emptying themselves into the St. Lawrence (for it will be seen on reference to both the maps in the case, that the sources of the Androscoggin and Kennebec, and in one of them, of the Penobscot, are contiguous to that line); by throwing out of the case those parts of the description which refer to well-known existing boundaries between the Colonies, the arbitrator comes to the conclusion, that the treaty contains no description susceptible of a definite interpretation. He comes to this conclusion at the expense of making what appears to us an important clause in the treaty without meaning, at the expense of involving the mathematical absurdity of supposing an angle in the middle of a continued straight line, and of adopting, as the true interpretation of the treaty, in the place of the highlands described, the channel of a river, affording a line the most remote possible from the highlands, claimed by either party.

It is very apparent, that the arbitrator was led to adopt this very awkward construction, by the desire of finding some principle on which he might divide the territory in dispute between the two parties, and thus avoid the unpleasant alternative of deciding against the claim of one of them. The decision has been regarded by some as not intended to be an actual award, under the terms of the submission, but merely a recommendation of terms of compromise, which are not binding as a judgment on either party, but are merely proposed to them for their voluntary adoption. We do not so consider it. The arbitrator apparently intended to decide, that the treaty itself affords no ground for giving a preference of one line over the other, that the uncertainty is of a nature not to be removed by further surveys or evidence, and that, therefore, it is proper, as

a matter of right, and as the only mode of settling the point at issue, to take an intermediate line between the doubtful points. Having decided that the boundary ought to be on an intermediate line, he proceeds to determine where that line ought to run.

The tract of country in dispute embraces an extent of about seven millions of acres, occupied by three thousand inhabitants. This decision assigns about two millions of acres to Great Britain, and five millions to the United States. The inhabitants are settled chiefly on the banks of the river St. John, and in about equal numbers on the two sides of the river. They are chiefly of French origin, being in part descendants of the Acadian French, and in part emigrants from Canada. The country through the whole valley of the St. John, is nearly level; it is covered with valuable timber, and has a good soil. It has been regarded as a valuable portion of the State of Maine, which would in the course of a few years be covered with inhabitants of New England origin. The portion assigned by this decision to Great Britain is particularly valuable to the adjoining provinces, on account of the communication which it affords between the two. The inland route from Nova Scotia and New Brunswick to Quebec passes through this territory, following the course of the St. John and Madawasca rivers. These rivers are fine navigable streams. The St. John is navigated for two hundred miles within this territory, like a canal, by boats towed in their ascent by horses travelling on the smooth, gravelly banks, and in their descent floated down by the rapid current of the river.

The American Minister at the Court of the Netherlands, regarding this decision as a departure from the authority given to the arbitrator, under the convention of 1827, and the treaty of Ghent, immediately entered his protest against it, on the ground that it abandons altogether the boundaries of the treaty, and substitutes for them a distinct and different line of demarcation.

The Legislature of Maine also, in the report adopted by them, named at the head of this article, declare the decision to be null, and not binding upon the Government of the United States, on several grounds. The first of these is, that by the terms of the treaty of Ghent, the question was to be referred to the decision of some friendly sovereign or State; that by agreement between the parties, it had been referred to the King of the Netherlands; but that before the decision was

made, the sovereign so selected, ceased to be the King of the Netherlands, having lost three fifths of his dominions, and become only King of Holland; and that from the circumstances attending this change of his situation, he had become dependent on the Government of Great Britain, and under the necessity of maintaining friendly relations with it. There might have been some force in this objection, had it been urged as soon as the change on which it is founded occurred, and before the decision was made; but it must be considered as waived, by the neglect to state it during a period of several months after the occurrence of the circumstances on which it is founded, and until after the decision was made known.

The second ground on which the Legislature of Maine insist that the decision is not binding, is that alluded to above, that the arbitrator has in fact made no award, but has merely given his advice. The Government of the United States, they say, 'cannot feel themselves bound to adopt or be governed by the advice of the arbiter, particularly when his advice was not sought or asked by them, and was given at a time when his situation gave him peculiar inducements for favoring Great Britain.' On this point, we have expressed an opinion above.

The next ground on which they deny that the faith of the United States is pledged to a compliance with the decision, is, that it is a departure from the question submitted.

'The question,' they say, 'submitted to the arbiter, was not a question of *law* or *equity*, it was barely a question of fact, and he only had authority to decide the fact under the treaties and the claims which had been set up under them by Great Britain and the United States. His authority was limited to decide whether the line claimed by Great Britain on the south, or the line claimed by the United States on the north of the St. John, was the line intended and described in the treaty of peace of 1783. The authority of drawing or recommending a new line, however much it was for his interest to do it, or for the interest of the British that it should be done, was not conferred by the Convention. The arbiter not having pursued the authority conferred on him by the "high interested parties" in his decision, but having drawn a new line, not on the land, but in the beds of rivers, in a considerable part of its course in direct violation of the terms of the treaties and Convention, and the claims of the respective parties, from which all his authority was derived, it necessarily follows, that his decision is null and void, and ought not to be regarded by the United States as having any force or effect.'

There is certainly much force in this reasoning; yet it is difficult to adopt the conclusion which is drawn from it, without assuming that the arbitrator has exhibited a great want of understanding, or has not acted in good faith, in the manner in which he has discharged the duty which he had undertaken. In an extreme case, where very important national interests were involved in the decision, there can be no question that such a course would be justifiable. But in the present case, it may well be doubted, whether the magnitude of the interest involved, is such as to render it expedient or proper. It would be extremely discourteous to the sovereign, who, from the impulse of friendship and good will, had undertaken the difficult task of attempting to settle a controversy between the two nations, who has evidently bestowed much time and attention upon it, with a sincere desire of possessing himself of its merits, and who has erred in judgment, from the influence, probably, of too strong a desire of avoiding offence to either party. And what, after all, is the wrong which is done us by the decision? We conceive that we have a clearly demonstrable title to the whole country claimed by us. Our claim, however, is questioned, and an adverse claim is asserted by Great Britain, with as much pertinacity as we can exhibit in defence of our own. We have agreed to submit to arbitration this question of conflicting claims. We cannot, therefore, assume the ground that our title is unquestionable, and if we could, we must do it at the hazard of those lamentable consequences which may always result from angry national controversies. Less than a third part of this disputed territory has been awarded to the adverse claimant. It is a part which from its local situation is peculiarly desirable to him, and for the same reason, as well as from its extremely northern position, least valuable to us. By the same act which takes from us this portion of disputed territory, we obtain an undisputed title to another portion, of more than twice the extent, more favorably situated and of greater intrinsic value. What is more, we get rid of a most exasperating controversy between the State most directly interested and the adjoining province, and between our own Government and the nation with whom it is of the greatest importance that we should remain at peace. Under these circumstances, we conceive that we are bound in courtesy to the sovereign, who has endeavored to render us a service, in the discharge of a difficult office of friendship, by

a regard to the honor of the nation, which should make us punctilious in the performance of engagements, even under circumstances which might strictly release us from the obligation, and by sound policy, which should lead us to avoid occasions of controversy with other nations, at some sacrifice of our strict rights, to accept the award which has been made by the King of the Netherlands, and to carry it into immediate execution.

This course appears to be the more reasonable, as on another branch of the decision, which we have yet to notice, a reservation is made in our favor, in a manner equally incompatible with the terms of the submission, and as it is extremely difficult to imagine how these questions of controversy are to be settled, unless on some terms of compromise, in which each party shall yield something of what it conceives to be its just claims, to the spirit of conciliation.

There are some doctrines, maintained in the report above referred to, which deserve notice. The Legislature of Maine say in this report, 'This State has never admitted the authority of the Convention, and cannot consider her rights compromitted under it;' and again, 'Should the United States adopt the document as a decision, it will be in violation of the constitutional right of the State of Maine, which she cannot yield.' These passages amount to a denial of the authority of the Government of the United States, to settle the controversy with Great Britain, in a manner which it may judge most proper, and of its right to relinquish, in the way of adjusting the controversy, any part of the territory to which it has laid claim, without the consent of the State of Maine. This doctrine appears to us apocryphal. If the Government of the United States have not full authority to negotiate for the settlement of the controversy, we do not see who has; and if it fall within their province, as possessing exclusively the treaty-making power, to make this adjustment, they must have the necessary powers for carrying it into effect. We are willing to concede, that the Government would have no right to make any cession of the territory of a particular State, unless in a case of urgent necessity, without the consent of the State; but the yielding of a portion of territory, claimed by a State, but never conceded to it, for the sole purpose of settling, on the best terms which can be obtained, the true limits of the State, cannot be regarded as a cession of territory. We cannot,

therefore, conceive that any compact, entered into in good faith for the best practicable adjustment of a disputed line of boundary, by arbitration or by compromise, can be considered a violation of the constitutional rights of the State. If in the making of such compromise, any part of the just rights of the State are sacrificed for the attainment of an advantage to the Union in any other quarter, we see no reason why the State should not receive a just indemnity from the General Government, for the sacrifice so made.

It remains for us to explain in what manner the two other questions, referred to the decision of the arbitrator, have been determined by him. The sources of Connecticut river were ascertained, and delineated on a map by Dr. Tiarks, the British astronomer. The accuracy of this map was admitted by the agent of the United States. It exhibits four principal branches of nearly equal dimensions, all uniting in one near the forty-fifth degree of latitude, called the Connecticut river, Perry's stream, Indian stream, and Hall's stream. The Connecticut, which is situated east of the three others, is designated as the main branch, not merely by its name, and by its flowing through three lakes, called Connecticut lakes, but by receiving separately the waters of the other three. These streams are accurately delineated on Hale's Map of New England, as copied from the map of Dr. Tiarks. In proof that the eastern branch was known by the name of Connecticut river, above the confluence with it of Hall's and Indian streams, a grant of a tract of land from the State of New Hampshire to Dartmouth College, made in the year 1789, was exhibited by the British Commissioner, bounded on one side by this eastern branch, which is there named the Connecticut river. Hall's stream, the extreme western branch, falls into the main branch a quarter of a mile below the old boundary line; and Indian stream three miles above it. The Commissioner on the part of the United States contended, that the head of the west branch of this last named stream is the true north-westernmost head of Connecticut river intended by the treaty, this being the western branch into which the river is divided, above the point supposed in 1783 to be the forty-fifth degree of latitude. The arbitrator overruled this claim, and decided in favor of the British claim, establishing the eastern branch as the Connecticut river to the most northerly of the three lakes, and that the stream situated the farthest to the north-west of those which

fall into this lake, must be considered as the north-westernmost head of the Connecticut river.

Some opinion of the value of the territory thus adjudged to Canada, may be formed from the report of a Committee of the New Hampshire Legislature, made after an examination of this tract of country in the year 1824. They did not make an actual survey of it, but from such computation as they could make, they estimated its extent to be about one hundred and forty, or one hundred and fifty thousand acres, and about half of it to be good land, capable of being converted into good and productive farms. This half of the land is covered with a heavy growth of rock maple, beech, and birch timber, interspersed with bass, spruce, and white pine, indicating a rich and fertile soil. The other half is of a very inferior quality, composed of mountains and swamps. They supposed twelve and a half cents an acre to be a fair estimate of its average value. The whole number of families then settled on this tract of land, was fifty-eight, possessing in all a population of two hundred and eighty-five souls. The lands on which these settlements were made, were described as in general of excellent quality, and as having produced, in the preceding season, as good crops of English grain, as any farms in the State of New Hampshire.

The other subject of the reference was the ratification of the northern boundary of Vermont and New York, to conform with the forty-fifth parallel of latitude. The history of this question exhibits very little proof of sagacity and caution, on the part of the American claimants. By the royal proclamation of October, 1763, establishing the province of Quebec, that province was described as bounded on the south by the forty-fifth parallel of latitude, from the St. Lawrence to the Connecticut river. Subsequently to this date, Governor Moore of New York, which province then extended its jurisdiction to Connecticut river, and Governor Carleton of the province of Quebec, having ascertained by astronomical observations, the points through which the forty-fifth parallel of latitude would pass, made a report thereof to the British Government, and on the 12th of August, 1768, an order was issued by the king in council, confirming these proceedings, and directing that 'the line of division should be run out, and continued as far as each province respectively extends.' Instructions were given to the provincial authorities for carrying this order into effect, and a line was accordingly surveyed and marked along the supposed

forty-fifth parallel of latitude, from the east side of Lake Champlain, where the observations for determining the latitude had been previously made, to the Connecticut river, by Thomas Valentine, deputy-surveyor on the part of the Province of New York, and John Collins, deputy-surveyor of the Province of Quebec, in the years 1771 and 1772. They terminated their line on Connecticut river, two miles and five eighths of a mile above the mouth of Hall's Brook, following the course of the river, and ninety and a quarter miles due east from the boundary fixed on Lake Champlain. In 1773, the line was run west from Lake Champlain, by the surveyors of the two provinces, fifty miles, and in 1774, it was completed to the river St. Lawrence, by John Collins alone, duly appointed to act for both provinces. A plan of the line, surveyed and completed, October 20, 1774, was returned by John Collins to the office of the Secretary of New York, where it still remains; and the Legislative Assembly of New York, by two acts, appropriated eight hundred pounds for the share of the expenses of the province, in running out, marking, and completing this line. The line thus established was made the limit of the grants of the adjoining lands, by the governors of the two provinces, and it has to this day been the limit of the jurisdiction of the two Governments.

There seems to have been no good reason for disturbing a line of boundary thus established, and so long acquiesced in. In the fifth article of the treaty of Ghent, however, it is declared that the part of the boundary between the two countries, from the source of the St. Croix to the St. Lawrence, including, by a definite description, that part which extends along the forty-fifth degree of latitude, 'has not yet been surveyed;' and it is expressly provided, that it shall be surveyed and marked, according to the provisions of the treaty of 1783. It appears that the Government of the United States were led into this error, and into a belief that the actual limit of jurisdiction between the two Governments was too far south, by some proceedings had several years ago, under authority of the State of Vermont. Dr. Williams, in his History of Vermont, says, 'Much pains were taken by the provinces of New York and Canada, to ascertain the latitude of forty-five, by astronomical observations. This was done by Commissioners from both provinces, in the month of September, 1767. At the place where the line crosses Lake Champlain, they erected a monu-

ment of stone, which is yet standing. The line was afterwards run in the year 1772, by J. Carden and J. Collins of Quebec, but with great error. By order of Governor Tichenor, in 1806, I examined the situation of this line in the eastern part of the State. By astronomical observations, I found the monument they had erected on the eastern bank of Lake Memphremagog, was in the latitude of forty-four degrees, fifty-three minutes, forty-six seconds; and at Connecticut river, their monument was in the latitude of forty-four degrees, forty-seven minutes, fifty-nine seconds. Admitting their line to have been run in a straight course, this would imply an error of eight degrees, fifty-two minutes, nineteen seconds in the direction, and occasions the loss to Vermont of 401,973½ acres of land; equal to 17 44-100ths townships.' A similar statement was made by the Governor of Vermont, in his speech to the Legislature, in October, 1806, and he intimated the propriety of making an application on the subject to the national Government. The gross error into which Dr. Williams fell, must be attributed to his want of the proper instruments for making accurate observations, and his want of practical experience, which would have enabled him to detect their inaccuracy. On the other hand, several communications were made to the provincial Government of Lower Canada, which led them to the belief that the existing boundary was too far north. The surveyor-general of Lower Canada in 1807, made a report to the administrator of the Government, in which he stated that the line was evidently crooked, and assigned grounds for believing that it encroached on the province as much as three geographical miles at the Connecticut river, and one mile on the meridian of Montreal. In this state of the impressions of the two parties, it is not remarkable that both Governments were ready to accede to a proposition for a re-survey and rectification of the boundary, and that a provision for that object was made in the treaty of Ghent.

We have already stated the proceedings of the Commissioners under this treaty, and the results of the surveys made under their direction. The question is thus presented in the American statement.

'According to the observations of latitude taken by astronomers appointed in pursuance of that article, the forty-fifth parallel of north latitude appears to be about three quarters of a mile

south of the abovementioned old line on the Connecticut river and on Lake Champlain; though it nearly coincides with the said line on the river St. Lawrence. The question referred is, whether under the treaties of 1783 and of Ghent, the old line may continue to be considered as the boundary of the United States, or whether this shall be surveyed anew, according to the late observations of latitude.'

The statement goes on to recite, that this part of the line had been ascertained by observations deemed proper at the time, and officially surveyed under the provincial Governments and confirmed by the Crown; that the line had been for more than thirty years from the treaty of 1783, held as the boundary between the two countries, without any proposition from either Government to have it re-surveyed or altered; and that, nevertheless, the treaty of Ghent assumed that it had not been surveyed. They therefore submitted the question, whether, according to the true spirit and intent of the treaty, the part of the line which was thus shown to have been in fact surveyed and determined by competent authority, was not excepted from the provision, which directs the boundary to be surveyed, and ought not to remain as heretofore, the boundary between the two countries.

In the British statement it is averred, that the negotiators of the treaty of Ghent were not unacquainted with the existence of the old line; and that no reluctance was shown on the part of the United States to carry on the operations for the determination of the parallel of latitude under the Ghent commission, till some time after it was known that the changes which would be produced by the correction would be mainly against the interest of the United States, principally by the loss of the fortifications at Rouse's Point, on the western bank of lake Champlain. The statement concludes by maintaining, as a point clearly proved, that there was sufficient reason for making provision for running and marking the line on the parallel of latitude anew; that the provision for such a re-survey is clearly expressed in the treaty; that there is no reason to doubt, that it was the intention of the negotiators who framed the treaty, as well as of the Governments who ratified it, that a new line should be established; that both Governments sanctioned for several years the measures which were taken for carrying into effect this particular provision; and that Great Britain was entitled to insist on having the fifth article of the treaty of Ghent carried into complete effect.

The decision of the arbitrator on this branch of the question is to the following effect.

'Considering: That the fifth article of the treaty of Ghent of 1814, does not stipulate that such portion of the boundaries which may not have hitherto been surveyed, shall be surveyed; but declares that the boundaries have not been, and establishes that they shall be, surveyed;—that, in effect, such survey ought, in the relations between the two powers, to be considered as not having been made from the Connecticut to the river St. Lawrence, named in the treaties Iroquois or Cataraquy, since the ancient survey was found to be incorrect, and had been ordered, not by a common accord of the two powers, but by the ancient provincial authorities;—that in determining the latitude of places, it is customary to follow the principle of the observed latitude;—and that the Government of the United States of America has erected certain fortifications at the place called Rouse's Point, under the impression that the ground formed part of their territory,—an impression sufficiently authorized by the circumstance that the line had, until then, been reputed to correspond with the forty-fifth degree of north latitude,

'We are of opinion: That it will be proper to proceed to fresh operations to measure the observed latitude, in order to mark out the boundary from the river Connecticut, along the parallel of the forty-fifth degree of north latitude, to the river St. Lawrence, named in the treaties the Iroquois or Cataraquy, in such manner, however, that, in all cases, at the place called Rouse's Point, the territory of the United States of America shall extend to the fort, which is established there, and shall include that fort and a circle about it of a radius of one *kilometre*.'

The fortification thus reserved to us, was erected by our Government on the western bank of lake Champlain, soon after the date of the treaty of Ghent. It was intended to be a work competent to withstand a siege, and to mount about three hundred cannon. It is situated between the old boundary line and the ascertained forty-fifth degree of latitude. The reservation of a circuit of a *kilometre*, which is equal to about two hundred rods, will probably extend our frontier at that point to the old boundary. It will be observed, that the part of the decision, which makes this reservation, is of precisely the same character, as that part of the award on the first branch of the question submitted, which substitutes the channel of the river St. John, for the highlands described in the treaty, as the north-eastern boundary. The only question, in

relation to this part of the boundary, to be decided under the treaty of Ghent and the convention of 1827, was to determine, by practical observations and surveys, the precise points through which the forty-fifth parallel of latitude actually passes, and to mark that line as the boundary designated by the treaty of 1783. No authority is given, to make any reservation or exception from the results of a line to be so drawn. The reason assigned by the arbitrator, for making this exception, would be a good one, if the parties had not agreed to abide by another principle in settling the question, and the same reason would have applied with equal force to the whole line. Our own Government must of course be satisfied with the reservation in our favor, and the British Government should accede to it, on the same principle, on which we have argued, that we ought to accept the decision on the other question. In one case, a tract of land important to the British provinces, as affording the means of easy communication between them, is awarded to Great Britain ; in the other, a fort built by our own Government, at a very great expense, on land which is found to be within the British boundary, is restored to us by this decision. It is not material, whether the advantage gained on one part is an exact equivalent for what is gained by the other. It is sufficient that each party makes a valuable acquisition under the award, and that what is lost by each is of little moment, compared with the disadvantage of holding it by a disputed title, and with the mischiefs of a long protracted controversy. The objection, that the sacrifice which is made in the loss of territory falls upon one State, while the advantage gained accrues to another or to the Government of the Union, would be easily removed, by granting, as an indemnity to the State suffering the injury, the value of the possession acquired. The value of the territory lost by Maine, as a saleable property, although it may have for the most part a good soil, cannot be very great, and the right of jurisdiction over so remote a tract of territory, enclosed between two foreign provinces, and inhabited only by a small number of half-civilized people, speaking a foreign language, who have settled themselves upon it, without authority from either Government, must be still less.

We cannot close this article, without expressing our surprise at the course which this controversy has taken, under the commission appointed in compliance with the provisions of the

treaty of Ghent, and the subsequent proceedings. The questions to be settled were of the plainest kind; and although they required laborious investigations for ascertaining the features of the country, by which the line of boundary was to be determined, they involved not one point of real doubt or difficulty. It appears hardly possible, that a person free from any bias arising from border prejudices, or a feeling of interest in the result, should doubt upon the proper decision of either of the points in question; that any two persons of sound understanding, after a fair investigation of the facts in the case, should differ in their judgment upon them. In so clear a case, it might have been fairly expected that the Commissioners appointed under the treaty, as a tribunal to decide these questions, looking only to the merits of each question, would have met them without regard to the paltry consideration, whether the result were favorable or adverse to the interest of the Governments, from which they respectively received their appointments. The Commissioners unfortunately took the part of advocates, and not of judges. On no other ground, can we account for the decision of the British Commissioner, by which he would establish the north-west angle of Nova Scotia at Mars Hill, where there is no angle whatever in the boundary of that province, but a straight mathematical line; or for the judgment of the American Commissioner, that the treaty of Ghent does not require a survey of the line along the forty-fifth parallel of latitude, in opposition to the express words of the treaty, which provide that the Commissioners to be appointed under the treaty, shall cause that boundary to be surveyed and marked. Proceedings in a similar spirit would not be creditable to a board of referees, acting in the most insignificant case, under the jurisdiction of a county court; much less are they of a character to give an enviable renown to a tribunal established for the purpose of deciding questions affecting the repose and mutual good understanding of two nations.

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NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. LXXIII.

OCTOBER, 1831.

ART. I.—*American Poets.*

The American Common-Place Book of Poetry, with Occasional Notes. By GEORGE B. CHEEVER. Boston. 1831.

The public are much indebted to Mr. Cheever for this well-chosen selection from the fresh and fragrant products of our native Parnassus. It is made in general with great taste, and a strict regard to the higher moral considerations that are sometimes overlooked in similar publications. Many of the poems contained in the volume are directly devotional, and all are of a nature to encourage the best and purest sentiments Such is the general correctness of feeling in this particular among our writers, that this object has been effected without the sacrifice, as far as we are aware, of a single work of acknowledged merit. Mr. Cheever has enriched the collection with occasional commentaries, of which we shall give some specimens, and of which the character is such, as to make us regret that they are not more full and frequent.

We have sometimes been called of late, to lament over the decline of poetry, and as far as the mother country, and Europe in general are concerned, the contemporary harvest does appear to be somewhat less abundant than that, which rewarded the labors of the last generation. Mrs. Hemans and Miss Jewsbury, with all their merit, which we are not disposed to contest, will never rival the fame of Scott, Campbell, or Rogers. The 'Undying One' will, we fear, undergo the common lot long before Childe Harold. Dr. Bowring, who has so liberally translated others, will but too probably never

be translated himself; and the Gothic lyre of Mr. Alaric Attila Watts, affords no sufficient substitute for the exquisite, though too luxurious harpings of Anacreon Moore. But however the case may be in Europe, we should suppose, to judge from the contents of the present volume, that in this country, a new spring had come over the enchanted gardens of Poesy. We are here presented with selections from the works of not less than forty or fifty native writers;—selections almost uniformly of great merit, and in numerous instances of the very first order of excellence. These writers are generally young men. The productions with which they have thus far favored us, are the early blossoms of genius, glittering with the dewy freshness which belongs to life's morning, but rather to be looked upon as the bright promise of rich fruits to come, than as fair specimens of what their authors will finally be able to accomplish. We doubt whether the works of the race of poets, who are now in England taking the place of the veterans of the last generation,—though perhaps more voluminous,—would furnish altogether a finer anthology. Such in fact, is the natural course of things. The spirit of Poetry can never disappear from the world. It is one of the essential elements of our nature, and must continue to live and flourish in immortal youth, so long as man preserves his present constitution. But it does not always exhibit itself with the same power and beauty in the same countries. When Poetry declines in one quarter, it begins to flourish in another. The echos of the Delphic woods,—the original seat and birth-place of the Classic Muse,—have been languishing for two thousand years in silence; while those of our own mountains, which, for aught we know to the contrary, were mute for as long a period, are now replying to strains that are no longer heard in all their former freshness on the bleak romantic hills of the mother country. Nor is it true, as some suppose, that the great demand in this country for practical talent, will prevent us from excelling in letters. The Genius of Poetry, as she takes her wayward and capricious course from region to region, forgets not to visit the abodes of active life. Politics,—commerce and manufactures,—the bustle of business,—the din of crowded cities,—the clang of the forge and the ship-yard,—the angry contests of the bar and the senate, present no obstacles to the successful cultivation of the elegant arts. The Muses are not a set of sentimental fine ladies who are fright-

ened at the free and open face of real life. Real life, on the contrary, is the element in which they live and move, and have their being. The same general causes which inspire the body politic with health and vigor, and give activity to every department of moral and professional labor, develope in proportional fulness the finer germs of feeling in all their various and delightful exhibitions. Whatever in fact assumes the name of eloquence, poetry, literature, and is not the instinctive spontaneous expression of feelings awakened by the real action and passion of life, is mere imitation,—a cold mockery of the true thing,—a hot-house plant not worth the trouble of raising. Compare, for example, the orations of Chatham, Burke, or Ames, with the panegyric of Isocrates, or the declamations of Quintilian. The most brilliant exhibitions of literary talent have accordingly always coincided in place and time, with a great display of political and professional activity. Such was the case in Greece, ancient and modern Italy, France and England; such from present appearances is likely to be the case in this country.

It was not, however, our purpose in noticing the work before us, to write a dissertation on the Progress of Poesy, but rather to enrich our sober pages with some of the choice specimens which Mr. Cheever has collected, and to hold some colloquy with him on the absolute and comparative merits of their respective authors.

Bryant has been, by a pretty general consent of the lovers of poetry, crowned with our republican laurel. Mr. Cheever, though one of his warm admirers, is disposed to concede the first place to Dana. We are not sure, much as we value his taste and judgment, and highly as we think of Mr. Dana's talents, that we shall be able to agree with him in this decision. But his remarks on the question are so beautifully written, and so fair and favorable to both the parties, that we cannot refuse ourselves the pleasure of quoting them.

We are disposed to rank Mr. Dana at the head of all the American poets, not excepting Bryant; and we think this is the judgment which posterity will pass upon his writings. Not because he is superior to all others in the elegance of his language, and in the polished beauty and finish of his compositions; in these respects, Bryant has, in this country, no equal; and Mr. Dana is often careless in the dress of his thoughts. Not because, in the same kind and class of composition to which Bryant has

principally confined his genius, he would be superior, or even equal to this delightful writer; for the genius and style of Bryant are peculiarly suited to the accurate and exquisite description of what is beautiful in nature; and, what is more, he unites with this power the spirit of gentle human feeling, and sometimes a rich, grand, and solemn philosophy; it will be long ere any one breathes forth the soul of poetry in a finer strain than that to the evening wind; and Coleridge himself could hardly have written a nobler Thanatopsis. But Mr. Dana has attempted and proved successful in a higher and more difficult range of poetry; he exhibits loftier powers, and his compositions agitate the soul with a deeper emotion. His language, without being so beautiful and finished, is yet more vivid, concise, and alive and informed with meaning. His descriptions of natural objects may not pass before the mind with such sweet harmony, but they often present in a single line, a whole picture before the imagination, with a vividness and power of compression which are astonishing. For instance;

> 'But when the light winds lie at rest,
> *And, on the glassy, heaving sea,*
> *The black duck, with her glossy breast,*
> *Sits swinging silently.*'

And again;

> 'The ship works hard; the seas run high;
> *Their white tops, flashing through the night,*
> *Give to the eager, straining eye,*
> *A wild and shifting light.*'

Again, as a more general instance, and a more sublime one; speaking of the prospect of immortality:—

> '"Tis in the gentle moonlight;
> 'Tis floating 'midst day's setting glories; Night,
> Wrapped in her sable robe, with silent step,
> Comes to our bed, and breathes it in our ears:
> Night, and the dawn, bright day, and thoughtful eve,
> All time, all bounds, the limitless expanse,
> As one vast mystic instrument, are touched
> By an unseen living hand, and conscious chords
> Quiver with joy in this great jubilee.'—

In these repects,—in the power of giving in one word, as it were, a whole picture,—in his admirable skill in the perspective,—and in the faculty of chaining down the vast and the infinite to the mind's observation,—he reminds us both of Collins and of Milton. We have not space here, to illustrate the resemblance by instances which would show our meaning, and his merits, better than a whole chapter of criticism.

But, above all, we admire Mr. Dana, more than any other American poet, because he has aimed not merely to please the imagination, but to rouse up the soul to a solemn consideration of its future destinies. We admire him, because his poetry is full of benevolent, affectionate, domestic feeling; but, more than this, because it is full of religious feeling. The fountain which gushes here has mingled with the 'well of water springing up to everlasting life.' The aspirations breathed forth in this poetry are humble, earnest desires after that holiness, 'without which no man shall see God.' It speaks of a better land of rest, 'but bids us turn to God, and seek our rest in Him.'

We agree with Mr. Cheever in the opinion, that Religion is the highest theme for poetry, and that a writer who treats it in the best manner, must be regarded as taking precedence of the most successful laborers upon any inferior topic. But without undervaluing the poetry of Mr. Dana, of which we think highly, we are not sure that he is entitled to claim the decided superiority, which might under other circumstances, result from his choice of subjects. We doubt in the first place, whether he has correctly conceived the form in which religion is employed to the greatest advantage as a theme for poetry. He seems to aim at an exposition of religious doctrine, and not unfrequently makes use of what may be called technical language. In this respect his manner is the same with that of Young. But the proper purpose of all poetry is to awaken and express feeling, and of all religious poetry to awaken and express devotional feeling. An exposition of doctrine, however important and however elegantly dressed in the garb of verse, is not poetry; and a poem that awakens devotional feeling is essentially religious, however destitute of any tincture of dogmatical divinity. Thus the Elegy in a Country Churchyard, and Mr. Bryant's Thanatopsis realise the idea of a devotional poem more exactly than the Night Thoughts, or Mr. Dana's *Life of God in the Soul of Man*. We may add, that in all that belongs to the technical part of poetry, Mr. Bryant is much the more skilful artist of the two. Dana is always harsh, and at times incorrect, as for instance in the following couplet:

> Our sins our nobler faculties *debase*,
> And make the earth a spiritual *waste*,
> Unto the soul's dimmed eye.

We are not sure that he is always free from affectation. In his Buccaneer he seems to have imitated some of the worst efforts of the worst of all models, Wordsworth. Bryant on the other hand, is always correct, easy, flowing and eloquent, and at the same time spirited and vigorous in his versification. His imagery is the true and lively expression of nature not transmitted through the pages of a thousand preceding writers, till it has become no better than a mere conventional jargon; but taken fresh at first hand from the breathing face of the divine original. His tone of thinking is pure, elevated, kind, generous, and religious, without the least tinge of gloom on the one hand, or looseness of principle on the other. It would be difficult, in fact, to find in the whole compass of poetry an equal amount by any writer combining so much merit with so entire an absence of faults of any kind whether in style or substance. Mr. Bryant does not aim at the 'highest heaven of invention,'—the exhibition of heroic characters in epic or dramatic action,—which has immortalized the genius of a few gifted spirits. In his lyric pieces he uniformly deals with the gentle affections, rather than the wild and stormy passions that sometimes convulse the moral world. His walk is therefore, technically, not the very highest; but in what he attempts he succeeds to perfection, and his style is one which recommends itself perhaps to a larger circle of readers than almost any other. His *Thanatopsis*, which has been more frequently noticed and quoted than any of his works, though one of the best, is not decidedly superior to many others. The following poem is copied by Mr. Cheever from the Talisman, with a note, which proves that though disposed to give a preference to another, he yet renders ample justice to the genius of this charming writer.

The Talisman has contained some very beautiful poetry, each year of its publication; but this,—we had almost said it is the sweetest thing in the language. Not in any one of the Souvenirs, either English or American, has there ever appeared a page of such pure, deep, finished poetry. It has all the characteristics of Bryant's style,—his chaste elegance, both in thought and expression,—ornament enough, but not in profusion or display,—imagery that is natural, appropriate, and, in this instance, peculiarly soothing,—select and melodious language,—harmony in the flow of the stanza,—gentleness of feeling, and richness of philosophy.

TO THE EVENING WIND.

Spirit that breathest through my lattice, thou
  That cool'st the twilight of the sultry day,
Gratefully flows thy freshness round my brow;
  Thou hast been out upon the deep at play,
Riding all day the wild blue waves till now,
  Roughening their crests, and scattering high their spray,
And swelling the white sail. I welcome thee
To the scorched land, thou wanderer of the sea!

Nor I alone—a thousand bosoms round
  Inhale thee in the fulness of delight;
And languid forms rise up, and pulses bound
  Livelier, at coming of the wind of night;
And, languishing to hear thy grateful sound,
  Lies the vast inland stretched beyond the sight.
Go forth into the gathering shade; go forth,
God's blessing breathed upon the fainting earth!

Go, rock the little wood-bird in his nest,
  Curl the still waters, bright with stars, and rouse
The wide old wood from his majestic rest,
  Summoning from the innumerable boughs
The strange, deep harmonies that haunt his breast;
  Pleasant shall be thy way where meekly bows
The shutting flower, and darkling waters pass,
And 'twixt the o'ershadowing branches and the grass.

The faint old man shall lean his silver head
  To feel thee; thou shalt kiss the child asleep,
And dry the moistened curls that overspread
  His temples, while his breathing grows more deep;
And they who stand about the sick man's bed,
  Shall joy to listen to thy distant sweep,
And softly part his curtains to allow
Thy visit, grateful to his burning brow.

Go—but the circle of eternal change,
  That is the life of nature, shall restore,
With sounds and scents from all thy mighty range,
  Thee to thy birth-place of the deep once more;
Sweet odors in the sea-air, sweet and strange,
  Shall tell the home-sick mariner of the shore;
And, listening to thy murmur, he shall deem
He hears the rustling leaf and running stream.

The *Damsel of Peru* is a lively and elegant specimen of the power of Mr. Bryant in narrative poetry, which he has less frequently essayed. It appeared, we believe, in the first instance, in the Atlantic Magazine.

THE DAMSEL OF PERU.

Where olive leaves were twinkling in every wind that blew,
There sat, beneath the pleasant shade, a damsel of Peru:
Betwixt the slender boughs, as they opened to the air,
Came glimpses of her snowy arm and of her glossy hair;
And sweetly rang her silver voice amid that shady nook,
As from the shrubbery glen is heard the sound of hidden brook.

'Tis a song of love and valor, in the noble Spanish tongue,
That once upon the sunny plains of Old Castile was sung,
When, from their mountain holds, on the Moorish rout below,
Had rushed the Christians like a flood, and swept away the foe.
Awhile the melody is still, and then breaks forth anew
A wilder rhyme, a livelier note, of freedom and Peru.

For she has bound the sword to a youthful lover's side,
And sent him to the war, the day she should have been his bride,
And bade him bear a faithful heart to battle for the right,
And held the fountains of her eyes till he was out of sight.
Since the parting kiss was given, six weary months are fled,
And yet the foe is in the land, and blood must yet be shed.

A white hand parts the branches, a lovely face looks forth,
And bright dark eyes gaze steadfastly and sadly toward the north;
Thou lookest in vain, sweet maiden; the sharpest sight would fail
To spy a sign of human life abroad in all the vale;
For the noon is coming on, and the sunbeams fiercely beat,
And the silent hills and forest tops seem reeling in the heat.

That white hand is withdrawn, that fair, sad face is gone;
But the music of that silver voice is flowing sweetly on,—
Not, as of late, with cheerful tones, but mournfully and low,—
A ballad of a tender maid heart-broken long ago,
Of him who died in battle, the youthful and the brave,
And her who died of sorrow upon his early grave.

But see, along that rugged path, a fiery horseman ride;
See the torn plume, the tarnished belt, the sabre at his side;
His spurs are in his horse's sides, his hand casts loose the rein;
There 's sweat upon the streaming flank, and foam upon the mane;
He speeds toward that olive bower, along the shaded hill:
God shield the hapless maiden there, if he should mean her ill.

And suddenly the song has ceased, and suddenly I hear
A shriek sent up amid the shade—a shriek—but not of fear;
For tender accents follow, and tenderer pauses speak
The overflow of gladness when words are all too weak:
'I lay my good sword at thy feet, for now Peru is free,
And I am come to dwell beside the olive grove with thee.'

Daybreak is one of the best specimens in this volume of the poetry of Dana.

DAYBREAK.

"The Pilgrim they laid in a large upper chamber, whose window opened towards the sun-rising; the name of the chamber was Peace; where he slept till break of day, and then he awoke and sang." *The Pilgrim's Progress.*

Now, brighter than the host, that, all night long,
In fiery armor, up the heavens high
Stood watch, thou com'st to wait the morning's song,
Thou com'st to tell me day again is nigh.
Star of the dawning, cheerful is thine eye;
And yet in the broad day it must grow dim.
Thou seem'st to look on me as asking why
My mourning eyes with silent tears do swim;
Thou bid'st me turn to God, and seek my rest in Him.

'Canst thou grow sad,' thou say'st, 'as earth grows bright?
And sigh, when little birds begin discourse
In quick, low voices, e'er the streaming light
Pours on their nests, as sprung from day's fresh source?
With creatures innocent thou must, perforce,
A sharer be, if that thine heart be pure.
And holy hour like this, save sharp remorse,
Of ills and pains of life must be the cure,
And breathe in kindred calm, and teach thee to endure.'

I feel its calm. But there 's a sombrous hue
Along that eastern cloud of deep, dull red;
Nor glitters yet the cold and heavy dew;
And all the woods and hill-tops stand outspread
With dusky lights, which warmth nor comfort shed.
Still,—save the bird that scarcely lifts its song,—
The vast world seems the tomb of all the dead;—
The silent city emptied of its throng,
And ended, all alike, grief, mirth, love, hate, and wrong.

But wrong, and hate, and love, and grief, and mirth
Will quicken soon; and hard, hot toil and strife,
With headlong purpose, shake this sleeping earth
With discord strange, and all that man calls life.
With thousand scattered beauties nature's rife;
And airs, and woods, and streams, breathe harmonies:—
Man weds not these, but taketh art to wife;
Nor binds his heart with soft and kindly ties:
He, feverish, blinded, lives, and, feverish, sated, dies.

And 'tis because man useth so amiss
Her dearest blessings, Nature seemeth sad;
Else why should she, in such fresh hour as this,
Not lift the veil, in revelation glad,
From her fair face?—It is that man is mad!
Then chide me not, clear star, that I repine,
When Nature grieves; nor deem this heart is bad.
Thou look'st towards earth; but yet the heavens are thine;
While I to earth am bound:—When will the heavens be mine?

If man would but his finer nature learn,
And not in life fantastic lose the sense
Of simpler things; could Nature's features stern
Teach him be thoughtful; then, with soul intense,
I should not yearn for God to take me hence,
But bear my lot, albeit in spirit bowed,
Remembering, humbly, why it is, and whence:
But when I see cold man of reason proud,
My solitude is sad;—I'm lonely in the crowd.

But not for this alone, the silent tear
Steals to mine eyes, while looking on the morn,
Nor for this solemn hour:—fresh life is near,—
But all my joys!—they died when newly born.
Thousands will wake to joy; while I, forlorn,
And like the stricken deer, with sickly eye,
Shall see them pass. Breathe calm,—my spirit's torn;
Ye holy thoughts, lift up my soul on high!—
Ye hopes of things unseen, the far-off world bring nigh.

And when I grieve, O, rather let it be
That I,—whom nature taught to sit with her
On her proud mountains, by her rolling sea,—
Who, when the winds are up, with mighty stir
Of woods and waters, feel the quickening spur
To my strong spirit;—who, as mine own child,
Do love the flower, and in the ragged bur
A beauty see,—that I this mother mild
Should leave, and go with Care, and passions fierce and wild!

How suddenly that straight and glittering shaft
Shot 'thwart the earth!—in crown of living fire
Up comes the day!—as if they conscious quaffed
The sunny flood, hill, forest, city, spire
Laugh in the wakening light.—Go, vain Desire!
The dusky lights have gone; go thou thy way!
And pining Discontent, like them, expire!
Be called my chamber, PEACE, when ends the day;
And let me with the dawn, like PILGRIM, sing and pray!

Percival's range is bolder and higher than that of Bryant. He has a wonderful freedom and facility of versification, but he has less felicity and less finish. He deals more in the conventional common-places of poetry, and gives of course to his thoughts and images a much less distinct and vivid expression than if he drew his materials directly from nature. His *Genius Slumbering* and *Genius Waking* are to us the most pleasing of his pieces in this volume. We copy the latter, which will be found, we think, to exemplify the beauties and defects which we have just specified as belonging to his manner. May we venture, without offending the feelings of

the sensitive poet, to remind him that his own genius has of late been somewhat drowsy? Why should he consume his splendid powers on 'French translation?'

GENIUS WAKING.

Slumber's heavy chain hath bound thee;—
  Where is now thy fire?
Feebler wings are gathering round thee;—
  Shall they hover higher?
Can no power, no spell, recall thee
  From inglorious dreams?
O, could glory so appal thee,
  With his burning beams!

Thine was once the highest pinion
  In the midway air;
With a proud and sure dominion,
  Thou didst upward bear.
Like the herald, winged with lightning,
  From the Olympian throne,
Ever mounting, ever brightening,
  Thou wert there alone.

Where the pillared props of heaven
  Glitter with eternal snows,
Where no darkling clouds are driven,
  Where no fountain flows;—
Far above the rolling thunder,
  When the surging storm
Rent its sulphury folds asunder,
  We beheld thy form.

O, what rare and heavenly brightness
  Flowed around thy plumes,
As a cascade's foamy whiteness
  Lights a cavern's glooms!
Wheeling through the shadowy ocean,
  Like a shape of light,
With serene and placid motion,
  Thou wert dazzling bright.

From that cloudless region stooping,
  Downward thou didst rush,
Not with pinion faint and drooping,
  But the tempest's gush.
Up again undaunted soaring,
  Thou didst pierce the cloud,
When the warring winds were roaring
  Fearfully and loud.

Where is now that restless longing
After higher things?
Come they not, like visions, thronging
On their airy wings?
Why should not their glow enchant thee
Upward to their bliss?
Surely danger cannot daunt thee
From a heaven like this.

But thou slumberest; faint and quivering
Hangs thy ruffled wing;
Like a dove in winter shivering,
Or a feebler thing.
Where is now thy might and motion,
Thy imperial flight?
Where is now thy heart's devotion?
Where thy spirit's light?

Hark! his rustling plumage gathers
Closer to his side,
Close, as when the storm-bird weathers
Ocean's hurrying tide.
Now his nodding beak is steady,—
Wide his burning eye,—
Now his opening wings are ready,
And his aim,—how high!

Now he curves his neck, and proudly
Now is stretched for flight;—
Hark! his wings,—they thunder loudly,
And their flash,—how bright!
Onward,—onward over mountains,
Through the rock and storm,
Now, like sunset over fountains,
Flits his glancing form.

Glorious bird, thy dream has left thee,—
Thou hast reached thy heaven;—
Lingering slumber hath not reft thee
Of the glory given.
With a bold, a fearless pinion,
On thy starry road,
None, to fame's supreme dominion,
Mightier ever trode.

Halleck is a favorite with us, although we do not rate him comparatively quite so high as some are inclined to do. He has less originality than Bryant, and less freedom and boldness than Percival, but combines much grace and sweetness with no inconsiderable power. He excels alike in the serious and the comic style; but is sometimes rather unfortunate in his attempts to combine the two in the same work. The following

poem, for example, is in the main very pleasing; and it is really lamentable that the general effect should be marred by the tasteless and unmeaning mockery of the lines in Italics, which we earnestly exhort the author to expunge and supply with others better suited to the subject, in the next edition. *Fanny*, by which he was first known, is a well-executed, but easy and worthless imitation of the Beppo and Don Juan style. *Marco Bozzaris* is admired by some, but does not strike us as one of the best of the author's works. The elegy on Burns is much finer, and is altogether a very superior poem. We would gladly extract it entire, but must confine ourselves for the present to

SENTIMENTAL MUSIC.

Young thoughts have music in them, love,
And happiness their theme;
And music wanders in the wind
That lulls a morning dream.
And there are angel voices heard,
In childhood's frolic hours,
When life is but an April day,
Of sunshine and of flowers.

There's music in the forest leaves
When summer winds are there,
And in the laugh of forest girls
That braid their sunny hair.
The first wild bird that drinks the dew
From violets of the spring,
Has music in his song, and in
The fluttering of his wing.

There's music in the dash of waves,
When the swift bark cleaves their foam;
There's music heard upon her deck,—
The mariner's song of home,—
When moon and star-beams, smiling, meet,
At midnight, on the sea;
And there is music once a week
In Scudder's balcony.

But the music of young thoughts too soon
Is faint, and dies away,
And from our morning dreams we wake
To curse the coming day.
And childhood's frolic hours are brief,
And oft, in after years,
Their memory comes to chill the heart,
And dim the eye with tears.

To-day the forest leaves are green;
They'll wither on the morrow,
And the maiden's laugh be changed, ere long,
To the widow's wail of sorrow.
Come with the winter snows, and ask
Where are the forest birds;
The answer is a silent one,
More eloquent than words.

The moonlight music of the waves
In storms is heard no more,
When the livid lightning mocks the wreck
At midnight on the shore;
And the mariner's song of home has ceased,—
His corse is on the sea;
And music ceases, when it rains,
In Scudder's balcony.

Mr. *Willis*, of whom we see a good deal in this volume, is a young poet of great promise. The works which he produced while at college, were written in an excellent spirit, and were among the most remarkable of that class that have ever appeared. At that time he drew his inspiration from

——— Siloa's brook that flowed
Fast by the oracle of God.

In his subsequent effusions, he seems to have looked to a different quarter as the 'right academy;' and without meaning any disparagement to his taste, we must venture to tell him that he has not gained by the exchange. We are happy to remark in some of his late pieces a disposition to return to his former style. Mr. Willis has by some been accused of affectation,—perhaps not entirely without justice; but in youth a little affectation, though it were better avoided, is not an unpardonable nor an incurable sin. He has, we think, within him the materials of a great poet, and as he has made letters his profession, we trust that he will so cultivate and discipline his powers as to enable him to do himself and the country justice. He is evidently a favorite with Mr. Cheever, who appears to consider his *Spring* as the most finished of his poems. We copy it with the accompanying annotation.

This is a beautiful piece of poetry,—more exquisitely finished than any of Mr. Willis's poetry which we have seen. Even a prejudiced mind (and there seem to be many such) cannot but admire it.

SPRING.

The Spring is here,—the delicate-footed May,
With its slight fingers full of leaves and flowers;
And with it comes a thirst to be away,
Wasting in wood-paths its voluptuous hours,—
A feeling that is like a sense of wings,
Restless to soar above these perishing things.

We pass out from the city's feverish hum,
To find refreshment in the silent woods;
And nature, that is beautiful and dumb,
Like a cool sleep upon the pulses broods,
Yet, even there, a restless thought will steal,
To teach the indolent heart it still must *feel*.

Strange, that the audible stillness of the noon,
The waters tripping with their silver feet,
The turning to the light of leaves in June,
And the light whisper as their edges meet,—
Strange,—that they fill not, with their tranquil tone,
The spirit, walking in their midst alone!

There's no contentment, in a world like this,
Save in forgetting the immortal dream;
We may not gaze upon the stars of bliss,
That through the cloud-rifts radiantly stream;
Bird-like, the prisoned soul *will* lift its eye
And sing—till it is hooded from the sky.

The following lines are as happy in the expression as they are correct in their moral tendency.

'LOOK NOT UPON THE WINE WHEN IT IS RED.'

Look not upon the wine when it
Is red within the cup!
Stay not for Pleasure when she fills
Her tempting beaker up!
Though clear its depths, and rich its glow,
A spell of madness lurks below.

They say 'tis pleasant on the lip,
And merry on the brain:
They say it stirs the sluggish blood,
And dulls the tooth of pain.
Ay—but within its glowing deeps
A stinging serpent, unseen, sleeps.

Its rosy lights will turn to fire,
Its coolness change to thirst;
And, by its mirth, within the brain
A sleepless worm is nursed.
There's not a bubble at the brim
That does not carry food for him.

Then dash the brimming cup aside,
And spill its purple wine:
Take not its madness to thy lip,—
Let not its curse be thine.
'Tis red and rich,—but grief and wo
Are hid those rosy depths below.

Hagar in the Wilderness is a good specimen of the author's better manner. The subject is one of the finest in the sacred volume, and has been often treated on canvass by the great painters of the age of Leo X. It was attempted unsuccessfully by Madame de Stael in the dramatic form, but in the hands of a master would furnish excellent materials for tragedy.

HAGAR IN THE WILDERNESS.

The morning broke. Light stole upon the clouds
With a strange beauty. Earth received again
Its garment of a thousand dies; and leaves,
And delicate blossoms, and the painted flowers,
And every thing that bendeth to the dew,
And stirreth with the daylight, lifted up
Its beauty to the breath of that sweet morn.

All things are dark to sorrow; and the light,
And loveliness, and fragrant air were sad
To the dejected Hagar. The moist earth
Was pouring odours from its spicy pores,
And the young birds were caroling as life
Were a new thing to them; but, oh! it came
Upon her heart like discord, and she felt
How cruelly it tries a broken heart
To see a mirth in any thing it loves.
She stood at Abraham's tent. Her lips were pressed
Till the blood left them; and the wandering veins
Of her transparent forehead were swelled out,
As if her pride would burst them. Her dark eye
Was clear and tearless, and the light of heaven,
Which made its language legible, shot back
From her long lashes, as it had been flame.
Her noble boy stood by her, with his hand
Clasped in her own, and his round, delicate feet,
Scarce trained to balance on the tented floor,
Sandaled for journeying. He had looked up
Into his mother's face until he caught
The spirit there, and his young heart was swelling
Beneath his snowy bosom, and his form
Straightened up proudly in his tiny wrath,
As if his light proportions would have swelled,
Had they but matched his spirit, to the man.

Why bends the patriarch as he cometh now
Upon his staff so wearily? His beard
Is low upon his breast, and his high brow,
So written with the converse of his God,
Beareth the swollen vein of agony.
His lip is quivering, and his wonted step
Of vigor is not there; and, though the morn
Is passing fair and beautiful, he breathes
Its freshness as it were a pestilence.
Oh! man may bear with suffering: his heart
Is a strong thing, and godlike in the grasp
Of pain that wrings mortality; but tear
One cord affection clings to, part one tie
That binds him to a woman's delicate love,
And his great spirit yieldeth like a reed.

He gave to her the water and the bread,
But spoke no word, and trusted not himself
To look upon her face, but laid his hand
In silent blessing on the fair-haired boy,
And left her to her lot of loneliness.

Should Hagar weep? May slighted woman turn,
And, as a vine the oak hath shaken off,
Bend lightly to her tendencies again?
O no! by all her loveliness, by all
That makes life poetry and beauty, no!
Make her a slave; steal from her rosy cheek
By needless jealousies; let the last star
Leave her a watcher by your couch of pain;
Wrong her by petulance, suspicion, all
That makes her cup a bitterness,—yet give
One evidence of love, and earth has not
An emblem of devotedness like hers.
But, oh! estrange her once, it boots not how,
By wrong or silence, any thing that tells
A change has come upon your tenderness,—
And there is not a high thing out of heaven
Her pride o'ermastereth not.

She went her way with a strong step and slow;
Her pressed lip arched, and her clear eye undimmed,
As it had been a diamond, and her form
Borne proudly up, as if her heart breathed through.
Her child kept on in silence, though she pressed
His hand till it was pained; for he had caught,
As I have said, her spirit, and the seed
Of a stern nation had been breathed upon.

The morning past, and Asia's sun rode up
In the clear heaven, and every beam was heat.
The cattle of the hills were in the shade,

And the bright plumage of the Orient lay
On beating bosoms in her spicy trees.
It was an hour of rest; but Hagar found
No shelter in the wilderness, and on
She kept her weary way, until the boy
Hung down his head, and opened his parched lips
For water; but she could not give it him.
She laid him down beneath the sultry sky,—
For it was better than the close, hot breath
Of the thick pines,—and tried to comfort him;
But he was sore athirst, and his blue eyes
Were dim and bloodshot, and he could not know
Why God denied him water in the wild.
She sat a little longer, and he grew
Ghastly and faint, as if he would have died.
It was too much for her. She lifted him,
And bore him farther on, and laid his head
Beneath the shadow of a desert shrub;
And, shrouding up her face, she went away,
And sat to watch, where he could see her not,
Till he should die; and, watching him, she mourned:—

'God stay thee in thine agony, my boy;
I cannot see thee die; I cannot brook
Upon thy brow to look,
And see death settle on my cradle joy.
How have I drunk the light of thy blue eye!
And could I see thee die?

'I did not dream of this when thou wast straying,
Like an unbound gazelle among the flowers
Or wearing rosy hours,
By the rich gush of water-sources playing,
Then sinking weary to thy smiling sleep,
So beautiful and deep.

'Oh no! and when I watched by thee the while,
And saw thy bright lip curling in thy dream,
And thought of the dark stream
In my own land of Egypt, the deep Nile,
How prayed I that my father's land might be
An heritage for thee!

'And now the grave for its cold breast hath won thee,
And thy white, delicate limbs the earth will press;
And oh! my last caress
Must feel thee cold, for a chill hand is on thee.
How can I leave my boy, so pillowed there
Upon his clustering hair!'

She stood beside the well her God had given
To gush in that deep wilderness, and bathed

The forehead of her child until he laughed
In his reviving happiness, and lisped
His infant thought of gladness at the sight
Of the cool plashing of his mother's hand.

Mr. Cheever quotes a good deal from *Wilcox*, a deceased poet, on whose works he appears, not without reason, to set a high value. One of the poems is accompanied with the following notice of his character.

He was a true poet, and deeply interesting in his character, both as a man and a Christian. He resembled Cowper in many respects;—in the gentleness and tenderness of his sensibilities,—in the modest and retiring disposition of his mind,—in its fine culture, and its original poetical cast,—and not a little in the character of his poetry. It has been said with truth, that if he had given himself to poetry as his chief occupation, he might have been the Cowper of New England. We pretend not to place his unfinished and broken compositions on a level with the works of the author of the Task; but they possess much of his spirit, and, at the same time, are original. Like Cowper, 'he left the ambitious and luxuriant subjects of fiction and passion, for those of real life and simple nature, and for the developement of his own earnest feelings, in behalf of moral and religious truth.' Amid the throng of imitators, whose names have crowded the pages of the annuals and magazines, his is never to be seen; and the merits of his poetry are almost unknown to those who regulate the criticisms of the public journals. But it is both a proof and a consequence of his original powers and his elevated feelings, that, instead of devoting his mind to the composition of short, artificial pieces for the public eye, he started at once upon a wide and noble subject, with the outline in his mind of a magnificent moral poem. The history, the scenery, and the public and domestic manners in this country, afforded scope for the composition of another Task, which, if the powers of the writer were equal to his subject, would be more for America, and the religious world, than even Cowper's was for England and his fellow men. Mr. Wilcox did not live to execute his design; but the fragments he has left us are so rich in a vein of unaffected poetry and piety, that they make us sorrowful for what we have lost, and indignant that his merits are so little known and appreciated beyond a small circle of affectionate Christian friends.

The following piece is a good specimen of the manner of Wilcox. The description of Andover in the accompanying note of Mr. Cheever, though prose in form, is substantially the finer poem of the two.

SUNSET IN SEPTEMBER.

The sun now rests upon the mountain tops,—
Begins to sink behind,—is half concealed,—
And now is gone; the last faint twinkling beam
Is cut in twain by the sharp rising ridge.
Sweet to the pensive is departing day;
When only one small cloud, so still and thin,
So thoroughly imbued with amber light,
And so transparent, that it seems a spot
Of brighter sky, beyond the farthest mount,
Hangs o'er the hidden orb; or where a few
Long, narrow stripes of denser, darker grain,
At each end sharpened to a needle's point,
With golden borders, sometimes straight and smooth,
And sometimes crinkling like the lightning stream,
A half hour's space above the mountain lie;
Or when the whole consolidated mass,
That only threatened rain, is broken up
Into a thousand parts, and yet is one,
One as the ocean broken into waves;
And all its spongy parts, imbibing deep
The moist effulgence, seem like fleeces dyed
Deep scarlet, saffron light, or crimson dark,
As they are thick or thin, or near or more remote,
All fading soon as lower sinks the sun,
Till twilight end. But now another scene,
To me most beautiful of all, appears:
The sky, without the shadow of a cloud,
Throughout the west, is kindled to a glow
So bright and broad, it glares upon the eye,
Not dazzling, but dilating with calm force
Its power of vision to admit the whole.
Below, 'tis all of richest orange dye,
Midway the blushing of the mellow peach
Paints not, but tinges the etherial deep;
And here in this most lovely region, shines,
With added loveliness, the evening-star.
Above, the fainter purple slowly fades,
Till changed into the azure of mid-heaven.

Above the level ridge, o'er which the sun
Descended, in a single row arranged,
As if thus planted by the hand of art,
Majestic pines shoot up into the sky,
And in its fluid gold seem half dissolved.
Upon a nearer peak, a cluster stands
With shafts erect, and tops converged to one,
A stately colonnade with verdant roof;
Upon a nearer still, a single tree,
With shapely form, looks beautiful alone;
While, farther northward, through a narrow pass

Scooped in the hither range, a single mount
Beyond the rest, of finer smoothness seems,
And of a softer, more etherial blue,
A pyramid of polished sapphire built.

But now the twilight mingles into one
The various mountains; levels to a plain
This nearer, lower landscape, dark with shade,
Where every object to my sight presents
Its shaded side; while here upon these walls,
And in that eastern wood, upon the trunks
Under thick foliage, reflective shows
Its yellow lustre. How distinct the line
Of the horizon parting heaven and earth!

NOTE.

Every person, who has witnessed the splendor of the sunset scenery in Andover, will recognise with delight the *local* as well as general truth and beauty of this description. There is not, perhaps, in New England, a spot where the sun goes down, of a clear summer's evening, amidst so much grandeur reflected over earth and sky. In the winter season, too, it is a most magnificent and impressive scene. The great extent of the landscape; the situation of the hill, on the broad level summit of which stand the buildings of the Theological Institution; the vast amphitheatre of luxuriant forest and field, which rises from its base, and swells away into the heavens; the perfect outline of the horizon; the noble range of blue mountains in the background, that seem to retire one beyond another almost to infinite distance; together with the magnificent expanse of sky visible at once from the elevated spot,—these features constitute at all times a scene on which the lover of nature can never be weary with gazing. When the sun goes down, it is all in a blaze with his descending glory. The sunset is the most perfectly beautiful when an afternoon shower has just preceded it. The gorgeous clouds roll away like masses of amber. The sky, close to the horizon, is a sea of the richest purple. The setting sun shines through the mist, which rises from the wet forest and meadow, and makes the clustered foliage appear invested with a brilliant golden transparency. Nearer to the eye, the trees and shrubs are sparkling with fresh rain drops, and over the whole scene, the parting rays of sunlight linger with a yellow gleam, as if reluctant to pass entirely away. Then come the varying tints of twilight, 'fading, still fading,' till the stars are out in their beauty, and a cloudless night reigns, with its silence, shadows and repose. In the summer, Andover combines almost every thing to charm and elevate the feelings of the student. In winter, the north-western blasts,

that sweep fresh from the snow-banks on the Grand Monadnock, make the invalid, at least, sigh for a more congenial climate.

There are several beautiful pieces in this collection by Mr. Longfellow, Professor of Modern Languages and Literature at Bowdoin College, and one of the most promising scholars in the country. Mr. Cheever has the following remarks upon his poems.

Most of Mr. Longfellow's poetry,—indeed, we believe nearly all that has been published,—appeared, during his college life, in the United States' Literary Gazette. It displays a very refined taste, and a very pure vein of poetical feeling. It possesses what has been a rare quality in the American poets,—simplicity of expression, without any attempt to startle the reader, or to produce an effect by far-sought epithets. There is much sweetness in his imagery and language; and sometimes he is hardly excelled by any one for the quiet accuracy exhibited in his pictures of natural objects. His poetry will not easily be forgotten; some of it will be remembered with that of Dana and Bryant.

The poem to which these remarks are attached as a note, exhibits a noble strain of religious thought, and a fine and delicate observation of nature, expressed with great felicity and elegance.

EARTH, WITH HER THOUSAND VOICES, PRAISES GOD.

When first, in ancient time, from Jubal's tongue,
The tuneful anthem filled the morning air,
To sacred hymnings and Elysian song
His music-breathing shell the minstrel woke.
Devotion breathed aloud from every chord;—
The voice of praise was heard in every tone,
And prayer, and thanks to Him, the Eternal One,—
To Him, that, with bright inspiration, touched
The high and gifted lyre of heavenly song,
And warmed the soul with new vitality.
A stirring energy through nature breathed;—
The voice of adoration from her broke,
Swelling aloud in every breeze, and heard
Long in the sullen waterfall,—what time
Soft Spring or hoary Autumn threw on earth
Its bloom or blighting,—when the Summer smiled,
Or Winter o'er the year's sepulchre mourned.
The Deity was there!—a nameless spirit
Moved in the hearts of men to do him homage;
And when the Morning smiled, or Evening pale
Hung weeping o'er the melancholy urn,

They came beneath the broad o'erarching trees,
And in their tremulous shadow worshipped oft,
Where the pale vine clung round their simple altars,
And gray moss mantling hung. Above was heard
The melody of winds, breathed out as the green trees
Bowed to their quivering touch in living beauty,
And birds sang forth their cheerful hymns. Below,
The bright and widely-wandering rivulet
Struggled and gushed amongst the tangled roots,
That choked its reedy fountain,—and dark rocks,
Worn smooth by the constant current. Even there
The listless wave, that stole, with mellow voice,
Where reeds grew rank upon the rushy brink,
And to the wandering wind the green sedge bent,
Sang a sweet song of fixed tranquillity.
Men felt the heavenly influence; and it stole
Like balm into their hearts, till all was peace;
And even the air they breathed,—the light they saw,—
Became religion;—for the etherial spirit,
That to soft music wakes the chords of feeling,
And mellows every thing to beauty, moved
With cheering energy within their breasts,
And made all holy there,—for all was love.
The morning stars, that sweetly sang together,—
The moon, that hung at night in the mid sky,—
Dayspring,—and eventide,—and all the fair
And beautiful forms of nature had a voice
Of eloquent worship. Ocean, with its tide,
Swelling and deep, where low the infant storm
Hung on his dun, dark cloud, and heavily beat
The pulses of the sea, sent forth a voice
Of awful adoration to the Spirit,
That, wrapped in darkness, moved upon its face.
And when the bow of evening arched the east
Or, in the moonlight pale, the gentle wave
Kissed, with a sweet embrace, the sea-worn beach,
And the wild song of winds came o'er the waters,
The mingled melody of wind and wave
Touched like a heavenly anthem on the ear;
For it arose a tuneful hymn of worship.
And have our hearts grown cold? Are there on earth
No pure reflections caught from heavenly love?
Have our mute lips no hymn,—our souls no song?
Let him, that, in the summer-day of youth,
Keeps pure the holy fount of youthful feeling,
And him, that, in the nightfall of his years,
Lies down in his last sleep, and shuts in peace
His weary eyes on life's short wayfaring,
Praise Him that rules the destiny of man.

The hymn at the consecration of Pulaski's banner, by the same writer, is exceedingly spirited and happy.

HYMN OF THE MORAVIAN NUNS AT THE CONSECRATION OF PULASKI'S BANNER.

The standard of Count Pulaski, the noble Pole, who fell in the attack upon Savannah, during the American Revolution, was of crimson silk, embroidered by the Moravian nuns of Bethlehem in Pennsylvania.

When the dying flame of day
Through the chancel shot its ray,
Far the glimmering tapers shed
Faint light on the cowled head,
And the censer burning swung,
Where before the altar hung
That proud banner, which, with prayer,
Had been consecrated there;
And the nuns' sweet hymn was heard the while,
Sung low in the dim mysterious aisle.

Take thy banner. May it wave
Proudly o'er the good and brave,
When the battle's distant wail
Breaks the Sabbath of our vale,—
When the clarion's music thrills
To the hearts of these lone hills,—
When the spear in conflict shakes,
And the strong lance shivering breaks.

Take thy banner;—and, beneath
The war-cloud's encircling wreath,
Guard it,—till our homes are free,—
Guard it,—God will prosper thee!
In the dark and trying hour,
In the breaking forth of power,
In the rush of steeds and men,
His right hand will shield thee then.

Take thy banner. But when night
Closes round the ghastly fight,
If the vanquished warrior bow,
Spare him;—by our holy vow,
By our prayers and many tears,
By the mercy that endears,
Spare him,—he our love hath shared,
Spare him,—as thou wouldst be spared!

Take thy banner;—and if e'er
Thou shouldst press the soldier's bier,
And the muffled drum should beat
To the tread of mournful feet,
Then this crimson flag shall be
Martial cloak and shroud for thee.

And the warrior took that banner proud,
And it was his martial cloak and shroud.

Our readers will begin to think that we have given them poetry enough for once; but we can assure them that there is much behind not inferior in merit to the best that we have quoted. The following exquisite lines are by the Rev. Mr. Peabody, of Springfield.

TO WILLIAM.—WRITTEN BY A BEREAVED FATHER.

It seems but yesterday, my love, thy little heart beat high;
And I had almost scorned the voice that told me thou must die.
I saw thee move with active bound, with spirits wild and free,
And infant grace and beauty gave their glorious charm to thee.

Far on the sunny plains, I saw thy sparkling footsteps fly,
Firm, light, and graceful, as the bird that cleaves the morning sky;
And often, as the playful breeze waved back thy shining hair,
Thy cheek displayed the red rose tint that Health had painted there.

And then, in all my thoughtlessness, I could not but rejoice,
To hear upon the morning wind the music of thy voice,—
Now echoing in the rapturous laugh, now sad almost to tears;
'Twas like the sounds I used to hear, in old and happier years.

Thanks for that memory to thee, my little lovely boy,—
That memory of my youthful bliss, which Time would fain destroy.
I listened, as the mariner suspends the out-bound oar,
To taste the farewell gale that breathes from off his native shore.

So gentle in thy loveliness!—alas! how could it be,
That Death would not forbear to lay his icy hand on thee;
Nor spare thee yet a little while, in childhood's opening bloom,
While many a sad and weary soul was longing for the tomb?

Was mine a happiness too pure for erring man to know?
Or why did Heaven so soon destroy my paradise below?
Enchanting as the vision was, it sunk away as soon
As when, in quick and cold eclipse, the sun grows dark at noon.

I loved thee, and my heart was blessed; but, ere that day was spent,
I saw thy light and graceful form in drooping illness bent,
And shuddered as I cast a look upon thy fainting head;
The mournful cloud was gathering there, and life was almost fled.

Days passed; and soon the seal of death made known that hope was vain;
I knew the swiftly-wasting lamp would never burn again;
The cheek was pale; the snowy lips were gently thrown apart;
And life, in every passing breath, seemed gushing from the heart.

I knew those marble lips to mine should never more be pressed,
And floods of feeling, undefined, rolled wildly o'er my breast;
Low, stifled sounds, and dusky forms, seemed moving in the gloom,
As if Death's dark array were come to bear thee to the tomb.

And when I could not keep the tear from gathering in my eye,
Thy little hand pressed gently mine in token of reply;
To ask one more exchange of love, thy look was upward cast,
And in that long and burning kiss thy happy spirit passed.

I never trusted to have lived to bid farewell to thee,
And almost said, in agony, it ought not so to be;
I hoped that thou within the grave my weary head shouldst lay,
And live beloved, when I was gone, for many a happy day.

With trembling hand I vainly tried thy dying eyes to close;
And almost envied, in that hour, thy calm and deep repose;
For I was left in loneliness, with pain and grief oppressed,
And thou wast with the sainted, where the weary are at rest.

Yes, I am sad and weary now; but let me not repine,
Because a spirit, loved so well, is earlier blessed than mine;
My fate may darken as it will, I shall not much deplore,
Since thou art where the ills of life can never reach thee more.

The *Disembodied Spirit*, by the same writer, is equally beautiful in a higher strain.

THE DISEMBODIED SPIRIT.

O sacred star of evening, tell
In what unseen, celestial sphere,
Those spirits of the perfect dwell,
Too pure to rest in sadness here.

Roam they the crystal fields of light,
O'er paths by holy angels trod,
Their robes with heavenly lustre bright,
Their home, the Paradise of God?

Soul of the just! and canst thou soar
Amidst those radiant spheres sublime,
Where countless hosts of Heaven adore,
Beyond the bounds of space or time?—

And canst thou join the sacred choir,
Through heaven's high dome the song to raise,
Where seraphs strike the golden lyre
In everduring notes of praise?

Oh! who would heed the chilling blast,
That blows o'er time's eventful sea,
If bid to hail, its perils past,
The bright wave of eternity?

And who the sorrows would not bear
Of such a transient world as this,
When hope displays, beyond its care,
So bright an entrance into bliss?

If our limits permitted, we would gladly give some specimens from the works of several other writers of merited distinction, who occupy a large space in the volume, such as Brainard, Hillhouse, Pierpont, Sigourney, Sprague, and Whittier. Many of the anonymous pieces have a great deal of merit. We presume that the authorship of them belongs, in part, to the accomplished editor. There are also many poems of great beauty by writers whose attention has been principally directed to other pursuits. Among them may be mentioned the *Dirge of Alaric the Goth*, by Edward Everett, and the *Paint King*, by Washington Allston, which are too well known to require to be extracted, with a number of very agreeable pieces by the Rev. Mr. Greenwood, and Professors Norton, H. Ware, and Frisbie. *The Castle in the Air*, which we quote below, is a pleasing specimen of the manner of the last of these writers, whose early and lamented death was one of the severest losses that have yet occurred to the rising literature and philosophy of our country. We conclude by recommending the volume as a choice regale to the lovers of good poetry. The fine taste displayed in the selection of the contents, and the unexceptionable purity of moral sentiment that distinguishes them in every part, render it particularly suitable for the use of colleges, academies, and schools, in which we trust it will obtain a general circulation.

A CASTLE IN THE AIR.

I'll tell you, friend, what sort of wife,
Whene'er I scan this scene of life,
  Inspires my waking schemes,
And when I sleep, with form so light,
Dances before my ravished sight,
  In sweet aerial dreams.

The rose its blushes need not lend,
Nor yet the lily with them blend,
  To captivate my eyes.
Give me a cheek the heart obeys,
And, sweetly mutable, displays
  Its feelings as they rise;

Features, where pensive, more than gay,
Save when a rising smile doth play,
  The sober thought you see;
Eyes, that all soft and tender seem,
And kind affections round them beam,
  But most of all on me;

A form, though not of finest mould,
Where yet a something you behold
  Unconsciously doth please;
Manners, all graceful without art,
That to each look and word impart
  A modesty and ease.

But still her air, her face, each charm,
Must speak a heart with feeling warm,
  And mind inform the whole;
With mind her mantling cheek must glow,
Her voice, her beaming eye must show
  An all-inspiring soul.

Ah! could I such a being find,
And were her fate to mine but joined
  By Hymen's silken tie,
To her myself, my all I'd give,
For her alone delighted live,
  For her consent to die.

Whene'er by anxious gloom oppressed,
On the soft pillow of her breast
  My aching head I'd lay;
At her sweet smile each care should cease,
Her kiss infuse a balmy peace,
  And drive my griefs away.

In turn, I'd soften all her care,
Each thought, each wish, each feeling share;
  Should sickness e'er invade,
My voice should soothe each rising sigh,
My hand the cordial should supply;
  I'd watch beside her bed.

Should gathering clouds our sky deform,
My arms should shield her from the storm;
  And, were its fury hurled,
My bosom to its bolts I'd bare,
In her defence undaunted dare
  Defy the opposing world.

Together should our prayers ascend,
Together humbly would we bend,
  To praise the Almighty name;
And when I saw her kindling eye
Beam upwards to her native sky,
  My soul should catch the flame.

Thus nothing should our hearts divide,
But on our years serenely glide,
  And all to love be given;
And, when life's little scene was o'er,
We'd part to meet and part no more,
  But live and love in Heaven.

ART. II.—*Anglo-Saxon Language and Literature.*

1. *A Grammar of the Anglo-Saxon Tongue, with a Praxis.* By ERASMUS RASK, *Professor of Literary History in, and Librarian to, the University of Copenhagen. A new Edition, enlarged and improved by the Author. Translated from the Danish.* By B. THORPE, *Honorary Member of the Icelandic Literary Society, &c.* Copenhagen. 1830. pp. 224. 8vo.
2. *Illustrations of Anglo-Saxon Poetry.* By JOHN JOSIAS CONYBEARE, M. A. &c. *Professor of Anglo-Saxon and of Poetry in the University of Oxford. Edited with additional Notes, &c.* By his Brother, WILLIAM DANIEL CONYBEARE. London. 1826. pp. 286. 8vo.

The language and literature of the Anglo-Saxons must ever be a subject of lively and enduring interest to the descendants of that race, wherever scattered abroad over the many-peopled globe. Wherever the English tongue is spoken, this parent language deserves to be studied by those who would acquire a thorough knowledge of that tongue. To Englishmen, and their offspring in every land, the Anglo-Saxon is precisely what the Latin is to the Italians, Spaniards, and Portuguese, or the Icelandic to the modern inhabitants of Denmark, Norway and Sweden. Doubtless, the original language of England has received, in its passage through the long tract of time, great accessions of strength and riches from the tributary streams of Norman, French, and Latin; but its sturdiest roots are to be looked for and found in the Anglo-Saxon. Even the mere beauty of its idiom has often been impaired by these foreign accessions. The constant tendency of fashion has been to innovate upon its original simplicity. The affectation of writing a Latinized or Frenchified English is, indeed, now quite discredited by the public taste both here and in the parent country. Still we often find even the best writers and speakers using words and idioms of Latin and French origin, where those of Anglo-Saxon growth would have far more force and beauty. This tendency can only be corrected by a knowledge of the primitive tongue spoken and written by our ancestors not only before, but after the Norman conquest, when the *Romanz* or *langue d'ouil*, introduced by the English kings of the Norman line as the language of the court and

the law, was justly considered by their English subjects as a hateful badge of slavery. The study of the Anglo-Saxon may, therefore, be considered as essential to a complete knowledge of modern English.

Still this study has not been cultivated with any very decisive success in England,—the country, of all others, most interested in its improvement. In vain have rich endowments been founded for this purpose at Oxford. England, with all her pride and magnificence of patronage, is still indebted to foreigners,—to learned natives of the cold and barren North, for the successful developement of her original national language. What is more, some of her scholars have not been ashamed to use the intellectual treasures gathered by the sagacity and unwearied industry of the Danish philologists, without the slightest acknowledgement or hint of the source whence they derived their information.

That great lexicographer, Dr. Samuel Johnson, was fully sensible of the importance of assigning the Gothic portion of our language to its Gothic origin. Dr. Jamieson, in his Dictionary of the Scottish, has availed himself of the old Gothic tongues to illustrate that Doric dialect of the English language. So also J. Serenius, in the second edition of his Anglo-Swedish Dictionary, has traced several English words to their Gothic source; but the acquaintance of these writers with the old Gothic languages was too superficial to enable them thoroughly to develope their affinities with modern English. Much of this rich field still remains ungleaned by the students of our language.

We shall hereafter show that the Anglo-Saxon literature is of some intrinsic value, though it certainly cannot be considered as a rich literature in comparison with the Icelandic, or old Scandinavian, and still less with that of any modern civilized people. The original fountains of our laws flowed in this dialect. The light of Christianity first shone on the British island through its medium. The Saxon Chronicle and other writings are the earliest monuments of English history. But the Anglo-Saxon language and literature would have a still stronger claim to the general interest of the literary world, if that language could be shown to be the parent of the present living tongues of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden; and if it could be proved that the Icelandic poetry, versification, and mythology, were all borrowed from the Anglo-Saxons, and

have never been truly national on the Scandinavian continent, or in the Danish Archipelago. This theory has been maintained by the late Professor Rühas, of Berlin, and other German writers. To this contested point, Professor Rask has therefore applied himself with patriotic zeal, aided by his mighty philological powers and unrivalled knowledge of the anatomy and filiation of languages.

In the first place, the comparative poverty of the Anglo-Saxon literature affords a strong presumption against this speculation. We shall here seek in vain for such works as the Icelandic prose and poetic *Edda*, containing a greater mass of poetry, mythology, rhetoric, and philosophy, (not of classic origin,) than any other European nation can boast;* for a national history like the *Heimskringla* of Snorre Sturleson; for a biography like that of *Njála*;† or such a treatise on the offices of human life as *Kóngsskuggsjá*.‡

Professor Rask has fortified this ground by a strong historical argument.

'It is an acknowledged fact, says he, that nations bring their languages with them from the countries whence they migrate. Thus the Phenicians brought the Punic tongue to Africa; the Greeks, the Greek to Magna Græcia; and the Scandinavians, the old Northern (*Norræna*) to Iceland: but there exists no trace of our forefathers having migrated to our present settlements from England; on the contrary, it is known with much greater certainty, that Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, were inhabited by Scandinavian tribes long before the passing of the Anglo-Saxons into Britain, and that it was only after this emigration that they became united into one people, speaking a common language. It is, therefore, not to be conceived on what

* The author of the present article has given some account of these curious books in a former number of this Review. See N. A. Review, January, 1829.—Art. II.

† This is a biography of the celebrated Icelander, Njáll Thorgeirsson, and his sons, considered as a master-piece for its authenticity and style.

‡ *Kóngsskuggsja*, or the Mirror of Kings, is supposed to have been written by King Sverre, who reigned in Norway in the latter part of the twelfth century. It contains a treatise of the various offices of human life with reference to the different professions and civil conditions of that age, such as the courtier, clerk, merchant, &c.; presenting a very striking and instructive picture of the manners, customs and opinions of the North during the middle ages. The best edition of this work is that published by Halfdan Einarson, at Soræ, in 1768, with a learned introduction by the celebrated Erikson.

historical authority the present Scandinavian tongues can be derived from the Anglo-Saxon, which was never spoken out of England. On the contrary, we are told by the Anglo-Saxons themselves, that they removed to England from the southern parts of Sleswig and neighboring tracts of Germany; so that with much more reason we might assume the converse of the proposition, and say, that the Anglo-Saxon is derived from the old Danish; this has not, however, to my knowledge, been asserted by any one; it would, moreover, be absurd and false; as it was not the Danes themselves, but their neighbors, who migrated; it was, therefore, not the Danish language, but their own Teutonic dialects, which they took with them.

It is also known, that these emigrants consisted of three distinct Gothic races, viz. Saxons, Angles, and Jutes. Whether the Angles or the Saxons were more numerous is not known with certainty; but the Angles finally conquered a larger portion of the country, and gave their name to the whole nation. It was they, perhaps, who were especially invited by the Britons; yet it is remarkable, that the English, to the present day, are called, both by the Britons in Wales and the Highlanders of Scotland, (in *Kymric* and *Gælic)* not *Angles* or Englishmen, but *Saxons*. The emigrant Saxons also founded three kingdoms; but whether we suppose the Saxons or the Angles to have been the more numerous, it is certain that the Jutes where the fewest; this is evident from a remarkable passage in the Saxon Chronicle, An. 449, where it is said:

Of Jótum comon Cantware and Wihtware, thæt is seó mæith, the nú eardath on Wiht, and thæt cynn on West-Saxum, the man gyt hæt Jútnacynn. Of Eald-Saxum comon Eást-Seaxan and Suth-Seaxan, and West-Seaxan. Of Angle comon (se át siththan stód westig betwix Jútum and Seaxum) Eást-Engle, Middel-Angle, Mearce, and ealle Northymbria.

From the Jutes came the inhabitants of Kent and of Wight, that is, the race that now dwells in Wight, and that tribe among the West-Saxons, which is yet called the Jute tribe. From the Old-Saxons came the East-Saxons and South-Saxons. From the Angle's land (which has always since stood waste betwixt the Jutes and Saxons) came the East-Angles, Mercians, and all the Northumbrians.

Thus the Jutes constituted a very inconsiderable portion of the emigrants, and even this was separated into three bodies; so that also upon this ground, we Scandinavians can ascribe to ourselves a very small share in the language; for whether the Angles are assumed to have been Scandinavian or Teutonic,

the utmost we can thence conclude is, that the Danish tongue was introduced into the Anglo-Saxon, and not *vice versa*, as the Angles never returned; nor could the Danes have mingled with any that remained behind; for it is expressly said, that their emigration was so complete, that the land stood waste betwixt the Jutes and the Saxons. That the Saxons were Teutonic, and not Scandinavian, seems evident beyond a doubt, from their whole history, from their ancient habitation, and from the accounts left us by King Alfred, and other Anglo-Saxons. By a parity of reasoning, the Danish cannot be derived from the language of the emigrant Saxons; nor can the Danes and their language be said to be descended from those Saxons before their emigration; for there is not, as far back as history reaches, the faintest trace or hint of any Saxon emigration to the North; on the contrary, the Danes are, from the remotest times, distinguished from the Saxons, with whom they were in a state of constant warfare; so that when the Swedish King, Adils, requested aid of Rolf Krage, King of Denmark, against King Ale in the uplands of Norway, Rolf Krage, as we learn from *Skalda*, Chap. 44, could not go himself, because he was engaged in a Saxon war. The Danes are, moreover, from time immemorial, described as a great and powerful nation, that often threatened the independence of their neighbors; as in the times of Ivar Vidfadme, Ragnar Lodbrog, Canute the Great, the Valdemars, and Queen Margaret; and cannot, therefore, with the faintest show of probability, be considered as a Saxon colony. They are besides so clearly distinguished from the Saxons, that, as we are informed, there dwelt a small tribe of Angles between them. That these Angles were Teutonic, it is reasonable to infer from the circumstance of their being so closely connected with the Saxons, that the whole of them accompanied the latter in their emigration, whereas it can only have been detached families from Jutland, who having heard from report of the fortunes that were to be acquired, joined the others, in the hope of sharing the spoil. That the Angles were a Teutonic race is not only probable, but almost certain, from the fact, that the dialect of these invaders so soon coalesced into one common tongue, and assumed a character so decidedly Teutonic, that, with the exception of a few Normanisms, introduced in later times, there is scarcely a vestige deserving notice of the old Scandinavian, or of Danish structure, to be found in Anglo-Saxon; so that in this respect, even the Old-Saxon bears a stronger resemblance to the Scandinavian tongues.'—Preface, pp. viii—xii.

This diversity of origin is again illustrated by the difference of grammatical structure between the Anglo-Saxon and the

old Scandinavian or Icelandic, with its offspring the Swedish and Danish. Thus, in the simple classes of nouns, the Anglo-Saxons inflected the plural and the definite form of the adjectives alike, as in the modern German. This analogy does not exist in the Icelandic, Danish, and Swedish. So also the Anglo-Saxons, like the Germans, had but one definite article, which is always placed before the substantive or adjective; whilst the Scandinavian tongues have all a second definite article, which is affixed to every substantive. The Anglo-Saxons made no distinction of genders in the nominative of adjectives, excepting a few feminines that end in *u*. In Danish, on the other hand, the neuter has its appropriate termination *t*, and in the old language the masculine ended in *er*, but the feminine never had any particular termination. The Anglo-Saxon also differs from the Danish in the termination of the tenses of the verbs, and in not having any passive form, which the Icelandic and its derivative languages have always possessed. There are many other particulars of contrast which it would be too tedious to enumerate.

This diversity is further illustrated by the fact, that the Angles and Saxons were the immediate neighbors of the Danes, a considerable number of whom accompanied them in their emigration to south-western Europe. Every thing then conspires to prove, that the Danish cannot be derived from any Teutonic language, since it differs so widely from that which is geographically the nearest to it, and in the formation of which the Danes may be supposed to have borne a part. This, again, is confirmed by the close analogy which has always existed between the Danish, and the Swedish and Norwegian. Indeed the languages of Denmark and Norway have been identical ever since the Danish has become a fixed and regular tongue. This has been the case ever since the union of the two kingdoms, and still continues, notwithstanding their separation and the annexation of Norway to Sweden. A comparison between old Danish and old Swedish also betrays their common origin in the Scandinavian, which unquestionably came from the south-east of Europe, if not from Asia.

'Thus the Anglo-Saxon cannot,' says Professor Rask, 'with the faintest semblance of truth, be assumed as the foundation of the Danish; such a hypothesis would be at variance with all historical accounts, and against all internal evidence derived from the structure of the language itself. On the contrary, the

Danish is closely allied to the Swedish, and both, in the earliest times, lapse into the Icelandic, which, according to all ancient records, was formerly universal over all the North, and must therefore be considered as the parent of both the modern Scandinavian dialects.'—Preface, p. xxiii.

As to the literature;—it would be extremely rash to conclude, from the resemblance which exists between a few poetical Icelandic and Anglo-Saxon words, that all the poesy of the one nation is borrowed from the other. For several of the words which have been quoted as poetic are purely prosaic, and of daily common use in Iceland at the present time; and many of them are still familiar to the common people in Sweden, Denmark, and Norway. Besides, most of the really poetic words which the Icelandic has in common with the Anglo-Saxon, are also to be found in the *Old*-Saxon, the Frankish, and the Mæso-Gothic. Several of these poetic words are moreover so interwoven in the Scandinavian tongue, that it is plain they must be as old in the North as the nations themselves. The inference is therefore more probable, that such poetic words, as well as the old poetic diction in general, were common to all the Gothic tribes from the remotest antiquity. It is, besides, difficult to conceive any reason why the Icelanders should have borrowed from the Anglo-Saxons more than their brethren on the continent; for they were not natives of Iceland, but Danes and Norwegians, who warred against, and ultimately subdued the island, which had before been conquered by the Saxons. The Icelanders were merely adventurers, (such as Egill and others,) who went occasionally to England, and took part in the wars as mercenaries, sometimes on the one side and sometimes on the other. Their chief communication was with Norway and Denmark, not with England; whence the Icelandic phrase *at fara utan*, (to go out in, —i. e. towards the mainland,)—became synonymous with—*to sail to Norway or Denmark;* and the word *ytra*, (out beyond sea,) expresses nearly the same as *Copenhagen*.

The expressions in the poetical language of Scandinavia far transcend in fullness, richness, and variety, those of the Anglo-Saxon. A king, for example, is named after any celebrated royal house in the North or in Germany;—a bird, a fish, and a tree, are denoted by the specific name of any specific bird, fish, or tree. Traces still exist of this practice in the vulgar language of the Icelanders to this day; as in the proverb—*eplit*

fellr ekki langt frá eikinni, 'the apple falls not far from the *tree*,' (i. e. the *oak*.) This practice must necessarily have originated in the peculiar genius and character both of the people and language, and could not have been derived from any extraneous source. The old Scandinavian also contains a countless number of primitive words used poetically, and also of nouns substantive formed from words in common use, which have no correspondent expressions in any other language. It also possesses a vast poetical vocabulary;—an incredible number of periphrases for the most common objects, exclusively derived from the old history and mythology of the North, which have not the slightest relation to the Anglo-Saxon story and superstition. Thus the *earth* is called Odin's wife. *Gold* is called Æger's (the sea's, river's, wave's,) light or fire; because Æger, (the god of the sea, or Neptune of the Mythology,) when he entertained the Æsir, (celestial deities,) illuminated his hall with gold instead of tapers. The poetic Edda abounds in similar examples. Among these, Professor Rask quotes the following strophe from the *Bjárkamál hin fornu*:—the old Bjárkamál, a very ancient poem, of which several fragments still remain in the Skalda, in Snorre, and some of the Sagas. In this fragment, the king's munificence is described by many such mythic periphrases for gold.

Gramr hinu gjöflasti	The noble prince
gæddi hirth sina	gifted his people
Fenju forverki	with Fenja's labour,
Fafnis mithgarthi,	Fafner's earth,
Glasis gló-barri	Glaser's glittering leaves,
Grana fagr-byrthi,	the fair burthen of Grane,
Dravpnis dyrsveita,	Dropner's precious sweat,
dúni Grafvitnis.—	the Dragon's bed.
Ytti avrr hilmir,	The munificent king gave
alder vith-tóku	(the warriors accepted it,)
Sifjar svarth-festum	Sif's head-gear, (i. e. false hair,)
Svelli dal-nauthar	the ice of the hand,
tregum otrs-gjöldum	The extorted otter-mulct,
tárum Mardallar,	Freya's tears,
eldi Oronar	the fire of the flood,
Ithja glys-málum.	the giant's glittering words.

These remarkable figures of speech are quite peculiar to the language of the Northern Skalds, and cannot be understood without a knowledge of the Scandinavian Mythology.

Their metrical system, too, is almost altogether different from that of the Anglo-Saxons. There are more than a hundred Icelandic metres, and of this great number there are only two or three to be found in Anglo-Saxon poetry. These metres are contemporaneous with the Scandinavian poetry, and can be traced back beyond the discovery and colonization of Iceland. They are to be found in the fragments of the *Bjárkamál* of Brage the Old, a Skald who certainly lived in Denmark, and is supposed to have been the author of Ragnar Lodbrog's famous Death-Song; of Thjodolf from Hoine, who was Skald, or court-poet to king Harald, the fair-haired, and the author of an historical lay called *Ynlingar-tal*, which Snorre has preserved in his history of the Norwegian kings; and of Eivind Skaldespilder, Skald to king Hakon the Good, who wrote, or rather *sung*, that fine lay called *Hákonarmál*, on the death and apotheosis of his royal master, who is admitted by Odin to the joys of Valhalla, notwithstanding his apostacy from the Pagan faith of his fathers. The imagery of all these fragments bears a much stronger family likeness to Oriental, than to any Western poetry with which we are acquainted. They resemble, for example, that of the Persians, who, we are told by Sir William Jones, delight in similar circumlocutions of poetic diction.* With this, too, all the early traditions of the ancient North agree;—that Odin and his followers introduced from the East, the religion, language, poetry, and alphabetic characters, which prevailed in Scandinavia for a thousand years before the introduction of Christianity. Even supposing that their emigration was preceded by that of other Gothic tribes who wandered to the North, crossed the Baltic and drove the original Celtic inhabitants of the Peninsula towards the Pole,—where the remnant of their descendants is still to be found in the Finnish tribes,—these traditions may be satisfactorily explained, on the hypothesis that the language did not become formed until the arrival of this last colony, which introduced the religion of Buddha, the oriental taste in poetry, and the Runic characters which were afterwards used all over the North.

The next question is, whether the old Northern poetry and mythology flourished only in Iceland, or have been original

* See Sir William Jones's Persian Grammar and Commentarius de Poesi Asiatica.

in the countries from which Iceland was discovered and planted? The answer, if not already implied in the preceding remarks, will be found in what follows. Eivind Skaldespilder, author of the elegiac lay upon King Hakon the Good, called *Hakonarmál*, was unquestionably a Norwegian, and composed a panegyric on the Icelanders, who collected a contribution in silver at one of their public assemblies, and caused a curious ornament to be made of it, which they sent to Norway as a present to the Skald. His poverty, and a famine which ensued in Norway, afterwards compelled him to sell this gift of the people of Iceland, on which occasion he composed some pathetic lines, which have been preserved by Snorre. We are also told that the Norwegian King, Harald Hárdrád, (who invaded England and was killed in battle by Harold the Saxon, the rival of William of Normandy,) composed some verses, which are cited by Snorre, but with which the royal author was extremely dissatisfied as being too bald and simple,—not sufficiently enriched with poetic imagery. It is superfluous to dwell upon Ragnar Lodbrog's death-song, as an additional proof of the prevalence of this poetical literature upon the Scandinavian continent and the Danish isles.* There are also many other testimonies to the same fact to be collected in the early Swedish songs and sagas. In short, all the ancient memorials of the North abound in proofs and examples that the Icelandic poetry and mythology were common to all the Scandinavian nations.

Should it be objected that the alleged remains of this poetry have been preserved in Iceland alone, and are, therefore, liable to the suspicion of having been falsely imputed by the Icelanders to their Scandinavian ancestors, the answer is ready. In the first place, it is quite unnatural to suppose, that the Icelanders should repudiate their own poetical glory, assign its laurels to Swedish, Norwegian, and Danish Skalds,—and make the deities and heroes of those nations figure in their lays, to the exclusion of their own national gods and chieftains, as well as those of the Erse and Anglo-Saxons. How should it occur to the Iceland poets to call *gold* after a Jötnish prince of Lessæ, or a Swedish slave-girl in Lejre, had not those persons

* The original text of this curious ancient lay, with Danish, Latin, and French versions, copious notes, glossary, and a specimen of the old music, was published by Professor Rafn, in 1826. It has been very much disfigured in other editions and translations.

and events been known and appropriated to the language of Northern poetry before the settlement of Iceland? How, too, could these mythic images and figures of speech, which form so great a part of that language, have been borrowed from the Anglo-Saxons, who embraced Christianity centuries before the discovery of Iceland? In the next place, it may be observed, that there are native relics of the ancient poetry in Scandinavia itself, which have escaped the destroying hand of time. Thus, for example, on an old Runic staff still preserved in the Royal Museum of Northern Antiquities at Copenhagen, we find, after a prose introduction of three or four words, a perfect stanza of eight lines of the Skaldic metre, called *Dróttkvæthi*, with alliteration, line rhyme, and every other peculiar characteristic of that species of verse. Alliteration, which was the favorite artifice of the Skaldic muse, endured until long after the parent language had ceased to be spoken and written on the Scandinavian continent, and had been gradually transformed into the modern Swedish and Danish. It continued to exist in the national feeling and taste, and was unconsciously adopted by the versifiers during the middle ages. Examples of this are to be found in the Danish Rhyme Chronicle,*—in the *Kæmpevisir*,†—and in the old Swedish popular poetry. They also prove that the mythic tales, fables, and images, in both the prose and poetic Edda, have been preserved in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, ever since the abolition of Paganism, and down to the present day, though somewhat deflected from their original character by the lapse of time, and the gradual influence of Christianity.

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* The Danish Rhyme Chronicle is supposed to have been compiled by certain monks in the latter part of the fifteenth century, from an epitome of Saxo Grammaticus. A fine edition of this work was published in 1825, by Professor Molbach. It is a valuable monument of the language, though, as an historical authority, it cannot have much weight.

† The *Kæmpevisir*, or Heroic Ballads, form part of a collection consisting originally of a hundred pieces, first printed in 1591, by A. S. Vedel. This was reprinted in 1695, by the royal philologist, Peder Syv, with a hundred additional pieces. But the latest, and most perfect edition, is that of Abrahamson, Nyerup, and Rahbek, in 5 vols. 12mo. Copenhagen, 1812—14; which, besides being considerably enlarged, contains some interesting notes and illustrations, with the old melodies attached to several of the pieces. Some of these will soon appear in an English dress, in Dr. Bowring's forth-coming collection of the Songs of Scandinavia.

'As the Anglo-Saxon, from what we have now seen,' continues Professor Rask, 'deviates so widely from the Danish and other Scandinavian dialects, so, on the other hand, it is intimately allied with the Teutonic; of this, proofs have already been given, which it is the less necessary to repeat, as no one has yet called so palpable a truth in question, though by many it has been exaggerated, who have considered the Anglo-Saxon and the Old-Saxon as the same tongue, though the difference between them is as great as that between Spanish and Italian; but that they should bear a close resemblance to one another is extremely natural, as the two nations were immediate neighbors, and both belonged to the same subdivision of the Teutonic stock. For the great Gothic family divides itself into two chief branches,—the *Scandinavian* and the *Teutonic* or Germanic; this latter is subdivided into the *Upper* and *Lower Germanic*. To the Upper, belong the ancient extinct tongues,—the Mæso-Gothic, the Allemanic, and the Francic; to the Lower, the Old-Saxon, the Frisic, and the Anglo-Saxon. They differ from each other chiefly in this, that the Upper Germanic is harsher and fuller, the Lower, softer and more flexible. All of them possess those characteristics, which so decidedly distinguish the Teutonic languages from the Scandinavian, namely, that they have no passive voice, and do not join the article to the nouns, &c. They have also a fixed, regular and beautiful grammatical structure; which, although somewhat more artificial in the declensions, and simpler in the conjugations, than that of the Greek and Latin, yet, in other respects, bears much resemblance to it. This structure was destroyed during the middle ages, when foreign words were introduced, the terminations were shortened and assumed the vowel *e;* many were confounded together, and, at length, totally forgotten; and it was not until after this fermentation, which lasted between four and five hundred years, that, at about the period of the Reformation, the modern tongues, the *German*, the *Dutch*, and the *English*, displayed themselves. Nearly the same process took place in the North, though the Teutonic nations were far more fortunate than the Scandinavian, having, instead of six ancient tongues, (and, perhaps, more, though we have no evident remains of any besides those already mentioned) acquired three new and simple, but copious and excellent languages; one for each of the three great nations into which they had dissolved: while the Scandinavians, though greatly inferior in numbers, have, for one ancient language, which was formerly echoed from Holmegárd to "Vinland hit gode,"* acquired three

* *Holmegárd* is the Icelandic name for *Cholmogori*, the seat of the ancient Scandinavian princes of the house of Ruric in the northern

leading tongues; namely, the *ancient Scandinavian*, which continued in Iceland, the *Danish*, cultivated in Denmark and Norway during the long and happy union of the two kingdoms; and the *Swedish*, which extended itself to Finland, where it still continues to be the language of the cultivated classes. The difference, however, between the modern Scandinavian tongues is not greater than between Attic and Doric, Spanish and Portuguese, so that whoever understands the one may profit by the literature of both, and needs be at no loss in any of the Scandinavian countries.

But to return to the Anglo-Saxon. It appears, then, to have been, in its origin, a rude mixture of the dialects of the Saxons, the Angles, and the Jutes; but we are not acquainted with it in that state, these dialects having soon coalesced into one language, as the various kindred tribes soon united to form one nation after they had taken possession of England. With the introduction of Christianity and the Roman alphabet, their literature began and continued during all the wars and dreadful devastations, which our rugged and warlike forefathers spread over the land; the nation itself, notwithstanding all its revolutions and misfortunes, having preserved a certain degree of integrity. Even under the Danish kings, all laws and edicts were promulgated in pure Anglo-Saxon, in which, with the exception of a few single words, no striking influence can be traced of the old Scandinavian or Icelandic, spoken by our forefathers at that period. On the contrary, the Anglo-Saxon rather exercised an influence on the old language spoken in the three northern kingdoms, particularly in Denmark. It was not till after the Norman conquest, that French and Latin were introduced as the language of the Court; whilst the Anglo-Saxon was despised, and sunk into a dialect of the vulgar, which, not till it had undergone a complete transformation, and been blended with the language of the old Northern settlers, and with the French spoken by the conquerors, whereby the ancient structure

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parts of Russia. From these princes and their followers the name of *Russians* was probably derived, after their native seat in Swedish Upland, *Rŕs-lagen*, which, from being an appellation given to the princes and *varangi* who accompanied them, was afterwards applied to the natives who had been previously called *Slavonians*. By these names (ῥῶσις and σκλαβισι) the two races and languages were still distinguished by the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus in the middle of the tenth century.

Wineland the Good, was the name given by the first Scandinavian navigators to that part of the coast of North America, discovered by them about the year 1000, from the wild grapes found there. A very circumstantial and credible account of this discovery is contained in Snorre Sturleson's Saga of Olaf Tryggvason.

was almost entirely lost, and after an interval of some centuries, re-appeared as a new tongue,—*the modern English.* We thus find here the same changes, which took place in the languages of Germany and the North, though no where was the transition attended with such violence as in England, and no where has it left such manifest and indelible traces as in the English language. We have here an ancient, fixed, and regular tongue, which, during a space of five hundred years, preserved itself almost without change; for King Ethelbert adopted Christianity about 593—596, and his laws, which we may refer to about the year 600, are perhaps the oldest extant in Anglo-Saxon. In the year 1066, William the Bastard conquered England; but the highly cultivated, deep-rooted, ancient national tongue could not be immediately extirpated; though it was instantly banished from the Court. This King's laws even were issued in French. A fragment of the Saxon Chronicle, published by Lye, concluding with the year 1079, is still in pretty correct Anglo-Saxon; but in the continuation of the same Chronicle, from 1135 to 1140, almost all the inflections of the language are either changed or neglected, as well as the orthography, and most of the old phrases and idioms. We may, therefore, fix the year 1100 as the limit of the Anglo-Saxon tongue, whose structure we shall consider in the following work. About the same period, the ancient Scandinavian began to be corrupted in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden; it remained, however, unchanged in Iceland; but the Anglo-Saxon was preserved no where but in ancient writings, and therefore is, and long has been a dead language, not very accessible to the learned themselves. The confusion that prevailed after 1100, belongs to the *old English* period. The characters introduced by the monks were, indeed, long preserved, but the language was no longer the same, nor, indeed, is it alike in any two authors during this whole period, which may be extended to the epoch of the Reformation in 1550, or, to give a round number, to 1600. During this interval, the older writings naturally bear much resemblance to the Anglo-Saxon, and the later to the present English. The case is similar with the old Norwegian, the Swedish, and the Danish, also the German and the Dutch.'—Preface, pp. xliv—xlix.

The chief characteristic of the Anglo-Saxon versification, like that of the other old Gothic nations, does not consist in syllabic quantity, but in *alliteration* or *alliterative* rhyme. Thus, where in two immediately successive and connected lines there occur three words beginning with the same letter, so that the third or last word stands first in the

second line, and the two others in the first line; the initial letters in these three words are then called *rhyming letters*. The last of these is considered as the chief letter, after which the two letters in the preceding verse, which are called sub-letters, must be adjusted. As in the heroic lay of *Beówulf:*

Tha *w*æs æfter *w*iste	Then after the feast
*W*op up-a-hafen.	a cry was raised.

Here the *w* in 'Wop' is the chief letter, and the two others sub-letters.

If the chief letter be a vowel, the sub-letters must also be vowels, yet, if possible, not the same.

*E*otenas and *y*lfe
and *o*rceas.

The chief letter does not necessarily stand first in the second line, but is often preceded by some one or more short words, yet not by such as require the tone or emphasis in reading. There are several other peculiarities in this alliterative rhyme; among which we may notice, that the two lines connected by alliteration need not be connected also in sense. The Anglo-Saxon lays are seldom divided, like the Icelandic, into regular stanzas of six or eight lines each, but the verse generally runs on without any division into strophes. This circumstance often renders this poetry more difficult to analyze and explain than the Icelandic; in which last, some notion may be formed of the general sense and design, from the mechanical arrangement and connexion of the verses.

Besides alliteration, the Northern poetry appears from the earliest times to have possessed *line* rhyme and *final* rhyme. The former is when two syllables in the same line have their vowels and the consonants following them alike, which is called *perfect* rhyme. Thus, in the 'Riming Poem,' in Mr. Conybeare's Introduction, we find:

Flán man hwiteth	They dart the javelin,
Burg sorg biteth.	Sorrow biteth the city.

Where *flán* and *man*, *burg* and *sorg*, make such line rhymes, which he supposes to be analogous to the more modern system of Skaldic metre, and to have been introduced among the Anglo-Saxon poets, in the age of Canute.

Final rhyme is well known as the principal characteristic of modern versification.

In Icelandic, or old Scandinavian, the various species of verse are divided into three principal classes: 1st. Narrative verse, *(Fornyrthalag,)* has alliteration only. 2d. Heroic verse, *(Dróttkvœthi,)* has both alliterative and line rhyme, with a stricter metre. 3d. Popular verse, *(Rúnhenda,)* which has alliterative and final rhyme.

The characteristics of narrative verse, are, 1st. The alliteration above explained, without any other sort of rhyme; and, 2dly. The number of emphatic syllables. The length of each line is not so accurately determined by feet as in Latin. The long or accented syllables alone influence the measure, of which there are two in a line, each of which is usually followed by one, two, or more short syllables, but these long and short syllables are arranged by the cadence of the verse merely; yet two or more accented syllables seldom occur unaccompanied by some short ones. Thus in the following lines from King Alfred's translation of Boethius:

Eálá thú *sci*ppend	O thou Creator
*sci*rra tungla	of the bright stars,
*he*ofnes and eorthan!	of heaven and of earth!
thú on *hea*hsetle	Thou on high seat
*e*cum ricsast;	ever reignest;
and thú *ea*lne præthe	and thou all the heaven
*heo*fon ymb-*h*weorfest;	swiftly turnest round;
and thurh thine *h*álige miht	and through thy holy might,
*t*unglu genydest,	compellest the stars
thæt hi the *tó*-hyrath!	that they obey thee!

This narrative verse is the oldest national verse of the Gothic nations, as the hexameter is of the Phrygian nations. The resemblance between them is so striking, that the hexameter seems, as Professor Finn Magnussen has indicated, merely a variety of the old narrative verse. The first lines of the Æneid, for instance, arranged according to the rules of narrative verse, stand thus:

Arma virumque	Italiam
cano, Trojæ	fato profugus
qui primus ab oris	Lavinaque venit
littora: multum	multa quoque
ille et terris	et bello passus,
jactatus et alto,	dum conderet urbem,
vi superûm	inferretque
sævæ memorem	deos Latio,
Junonis ob iram.	genus unde Latinum.

This decomposition produces the Gothic narrative verse so completely, that in these lines of Virgil, there is not a single deviation from its rules, and it reads just as fluently when arranged according to the Icelandic metre, as according to the laws of the Greek and Latin hexameter. The reverse of the process does not hold good, for narrative verse cannot be so easily turned into hexameter, the latter being subjected to greater restriction.

Narrative verse was the most prevailing metre among the Anglo-Saxons. The only deviation from, or rather variety of it, is a verse corresponding nearly to the Icelandic *Fornyrthalag*, which may be termed the *long* narrative verse, and which is sometimes used by Cædmon, along with the ordinary kind, as in that passage where he makes a sudden transition to this more solemn metre, to suit his verse to the grandeur of his subject, viz. the 'archangel ruin'd.' This passage consisting of twenty lines stands in immediate contact, both at the beginning and end, with the common narrative verse of the poem. The same practice is adopted by the Skald in the *Hákonarmál*, where the Icelandic six-lined narrative verse, is mixed with eight-lined, for the sake of variety.

It seems very questionable whether the Icelandic *Dróttkvœthi*, or heroic verse, consisting of an union of alliteration with line rhyme, and of regular lines of equal length of four, six, or eight syllables, was known to and used by the Anglo-Saxons. The Icelandic *Rúnhenda*, or popular verse, consists also of regular divided lines of equal length, with alternate long and short syllables. It is divided into several species, according to the number of the long syllables, the shortest of which only have a complement, but all are distinguished by final rhyme. The paraphrase attributed to Cædmon, has been supposed to be composed in this metre; and it certainly bears a strong resemblance to the Icelandic poem, *Höfathlausn*, by the celebrated hero and poet, Egill Skalla-Grimsson. In the more modern language, which arose out of the corrupt Anglo-Saxon, and thus formed the old English, the ancient versification, especially the narrative and popular kind, was long preserved and only gradually changed. The following specimen is taken from the *Vision of Pierce Plowman*, written by Robert Langland, in 1350.

I *l*ooked on my *l*eft halfe
as the *l*ady me taught,

and *w*as *w*are of a *w*oman
*w*orthlyith clothed,
pur*f*iled with pelure
the *f*inest upon erthe,
*c*rowned with a *c*rowne
the *k*ing hath no better;
*f*estislich her *f*ingers
were *f*retted with gold wiers,
and thereon *r*ed *r*ubies
as *r*ed as any glēde,
and *d*iamonds of *d*earest price
and *d*ouble maner saphirs, &c.

This species of verse, however, fell at last into disuse, and the popular verse, or *Rúnhenda*, became the foundation of the modern poetry, so far as this last is not a mere imitation of the classic models. This again gradually underwent a change, the alliteration, except in single lines, being dropped, and the final rhymes being used in lines not immediately successive, and sometimes only in alternate lines; examples of which are also to be found among the other ancient Teutonic and Northern nations. The following is a specimen much older than the preceding one, of the language in its intermediate state, between the true ancient Anglo-Saxon and the modern English. The passage relates to the attributes of God. Here the old regular structure, though much impaired, is not entirely subverted.

He wot hwet thencheth and hwet dóth,
alle quike wihte,
nis no Louerd swich is *C*rist,
ne no *k*ing swich is Drihte.

Heuene and *e*rthe and *a*ll that is,
biloken is *o*n his honde,
He déth all that his wille is,
on seá and éc on londe.

He witeth and wialdeth alle thing,
he is*c*óp alle *sc*eafte,
he wrohte *f*isc on ther sae,
and *f*ogeles on thar lefte.

He is *o*rd abuten *o*rde,
and *e*nde abuten *e*nde,
he is *a*fre on éche stede
*w*ende (the) wer thú *w*ende.

He knows what think and what do
all living beings,
no Lord is such as Christ,
no King is such as God (the Lord.)

Heaven, and earth, and all that is,
Is enclosed in his hand,
He does all that is his will
on sea and eke on land.

He weighs and sways all things,
he created all creatures,
he wrought (made) fishes in the sea
and fowls in the air.

He is beginning without beginning,
and end without end,
He is ever in every place
wend thee whichever way thou wendest.

The relics of Anglo-Saxon poetry which have escaped the destroying touch of time, may be classified as follows: 1. Hymns and other minor Sacred Poems. 2. Heroic or Narrative Poetry, derived from historical or traditional sources. 3. Heroic Poetry of a lyric character and Elegies. 4. Narrative Poetry derived from Scriptural sources. 5. Moral and Didactic. 6. Miscellaneous fragments. We shall briefly notice a few of these.

1. One of the earliest specimens of Anglo-Saxon poetical literature now extant, is the Hymn of Cædmon on the Creation, preserved by king Alfred in his translation of the venerable Bede's ecclesiastical history. The account given by Bede of the first developement of Cædmon's poetical talent, presents a singularly interesting trait of ancient manners, deeply tinged with the prevailing superstition of the age. 'Cædmon,' says Bede, 'was to an advanced period of life, so totally ignorant of verse, that being accidentally present at a feast where the guests sang in their turn *Lætitiæ Causæ*, so soon as he saw the harp approach himself, he quitted the table abruptly, and returned home. In the course of the following night, he dreamed that a stranger accosted him and requested him to sing: he pleaded his inability, adding, that he had been compelled on that account to retire from his friend's table. "You have the power," replied the stranger. "What then," asked the cow-herd, (for that was Cædmon's occupation,) "would

you have me sing?" "The Creation," returned the stranger: and Cædmon immediately found himself gifted with the faculty of composing and singing a short lay on that subject, which, on waking, he fully retained in his memory.' A circumstance so marvellous could not long be concealed from the superiors of the monastery, in whose service he was employed; and after some further trial of his skill, he was persuaded to adopt their habit and dedicate himself entirely to the composition of religious poetry. Being at last instructed by his brethren in Scripture history and the truths of religion, he versified them with a success, which, according to the venerable Bede, defies all future competition.

This hymn is subjoined by Bede in Latin, and the Anglo-Saxon original is given by king Alfred.

Nú we sceolan heregean	Now should we praise
heofon-rices weard	Heaven's guardian king,
metodes mihte	our Maker's might
and his mód-gethanc;	and wisdom,—
weorc wuldor-fader!	Father of glorious works!
Swá he wundra gehwæs	Thus he of every (varied) won-
éce drihten!	Eternal Lord! [der,—
ord onstealde.	'stablished the origin.
He áerest scop	First he created
eorthan bearnum	for (us) the sons of earth
heofon tó hrófe,	Heaven's canopy,—
hálig scyppend	Holy Creator!
thá middangeard	Then this middle reign
moncynnes neard	for mortal habitation,—
éce drighten!	Eternal Lord!
æfter teóde	Next framed
firum foldan,	for men,—the earth,—
fred ælmihtig!	Ruler Omnipotent!

This fragment will hardly be thought to justify the extravagant praise bestowed by the venerable historian upon the father of Anglo-Saxon poetry. We have here little more than that simple mechanism, which, by the accumulation of parallel passages, has thus expanded to the length of eighteen lines the proposition: 'Let us praise God, the maker of Heaven and earth.' This artificial arrangement of the several members or clauses constituting a sentence, is quite characteristic of all the surviving remains of Anglo-Saxon poetry. It resembles the parallelism of the Hebrew poets, as explained by Bishop

Lowth. The other Sacred poems afford innumerable instances of this figure or mechanism. A paragraph, for example, in the description of the deluge, is thus rendered line for line, and almost word for word, by Mr. Conybeare.

(a) Bethought him then, our God
(b) Of him that plough'd the wave,
(a) The gracious Lord of Hosts
(b) Of Lamech's pious son,
(c) And of each living soul
(c) He saved amid the floods,
(a) All glorious fount of life,
(c) High o'er the deep abyss.

Among the fragments contained in the Exeter MS., forming a part of the donation of books given by Bishop Leofric, (A. D. 1046—1073,) to the library of his cathedral at Exeter, is a hymn of thanksgiving of no inconsiderable poetic merit, a portion of which Mr. Conybeare has translated in the form of the irregular ode, and thus preserved more faithfully the abrupt transitions of the original, than could have been done in blank verse.

'Befits it well that man should raise
To Heaven the song of thanks and praise,
For all the gifts a bounteous God
From age to age hath still bestow'd.
The kindly season's temper'd reign,
The plenteous store, the rich domain
Of this mid-earth's extended plain.
All that his creatures' wants could crave,
His boundless power and mercy gave.
Noblest of yon bright train that sparkle high,
Beneath the vaulted sky,
The Sun by day, the silver'd Moon by night,
Twin fires of heaven, dispense (for man) their useful light.
Where'er on earth his lot be sped,
(For man) the clouds their riches shed,
In gentler dews descend, or opening pour
Wide o'er the land their fertilizing shower.'

2. But the most remarkable monument of Anglo-Saxon poetical literature, is the heroic lay, or epic poem, concerning the exploits of *Beówulf*, a Gothic hero of the royal race of the *Skjoldungr*, or first dynasty of the kings of Denmark. The only manuscript of this curious old poem still extant, was rescued

from the fire which consumed the greater part of the Cottonian library, and is now deposited, with the other remains of that fine collection, in the British museum. It was copied in 1786, by *Thorkelin*, an eminent Danish antiquary, then on a visit to England, who had prepared, with great labor and expense, a translation and glossary, which were unfortunately destroyed, together with the greater part of the learned editor's literary treasures, during the British bombardment of Copenhagen in 1807. The indefatigable veteran again resumed his labors, and published in 1815 an edition of the poem, which is analyzed by Mr. Turner, in the last volume of his excellent history of the Anglo-Saxons.* This edition bears but too many marks of the unfavorable circumstances under which it was given to the world, and the student of literary history might still have remained comparatively ignorant of the real scope and character of this Gothic epic, without the aid afforded by the translation into Danish, published at Copenhagen, in 1820, with copious notes and a glossary, by that accomplished Anglo-Saxon scholar, the Rev. Mr. Grundtvig.† A complete analysis of the whole poem, with a free English translation, or rather paraphrase of select passages, has also been since made by the late ingenious Mr. Conybeare, successively professor of Anglo-Saxon and of poetry in the University of Oxford. The metre adopted by Grundtvig appears, however, to be more nearly allied with the genius of the original, than the heroic or hexameter verse used by Conybeare in his otherwise very beautiful translation. The original manuscript is apparently of the tenth century; it relates to historical events, which probably happened in Denmark in the fourth or fifth century; but the poem itself, in its present state, must be attributed to the period between the Danish and the Norman conquests of England, or what has been called the Danish-Saxon literary period. Its author was unquestionably a Christian, but his work may have been, as Thorkelin and Conybeare have conjectured, a translation or *rifacimento* of some earlier production of the Northern muse. It abounds in images and allusions belonging to the

* De Danorum rebus gestis secul. iii. et iv. Poema Danicum Dialecto Anglo-Saxonica; edidit versione Lat. et indicibus auxit Grim Johnson Thorkelin Eques Ord. Danebrogici auratus, &c. Havniæ, 1815.

† Bjouwulfs Drape. Et Gothisk Helte-Digt, fra forrige Aar-Tusinde af Angel-Saxisk paa Danske Rüm, ved Nik. Fred. Sev. Gruntvig, Præst. Kjobenhavn, 1820.

Scandinavian mythology and tradition; and in one part a Skald is introduced, who, like Demodocus in the Odyssey, entertains the warriors at Hrothgar's table, with the tale of the slaughter of the dragon, and the seizure of the treasure, by Sigmund the Wælsing, so famous in the Edda and the Volsungr-Saga of the North, as well as in the Teutonic heroic lay of the Niebelungen. Still the main story of Beówulf seems to belong to a class perfectly distinct from the mythic or mythic-historical *cyclus* of the Edda. Mr. Conybeare closes his analysis of this curious composition with the following remarks.

'It can scarcely have escaped notice, that the Scandinavian bard, in the general style and complexion of his poetry, approaches much more nearly to the father of the Grecian epic, than to the romancers of the middle ages. If I mistake not, this similarity will readily be traced in the simplicity of his plan, in the air of probability given to all its details, even where the subject may be termed supernatural; in the length and tone of the speeches introduced, and in their frequent digression to matters of contemporary or previous history. It may be observed, too, that the song of Béowulf, especially in its latter cantos, affords an additional argument, if any such were wanting after the labors of Percy and Ellis, against the theory which would attribute to the fictions of romance a Saracenic origin. The dragon furnished with wings, and breathing flame, the sword which melts at the touch of the Jutish blood, the unearthly light which pervades the cave of the Grendel, and beams from the magic statues presiding over that of the Fire-drake, had they occurred in a poem of later date, would in all probability have been considered by the eminent author of that theory as undoubted importations of the Crusaders. But the opinions of Warton, even when erroneous, were not taken up without apparent grounds. The fictions in question do assuredly bear, if it may be so termed, an Oriental rather than a Northern aspect; and the solution of this phenomenon will be most successfully sought for in the hypothesis more recently suggested by those continental scholars, who, regarding the Gothic and the Sanscrit as cognate dialects, and identifying the character and worship of Odin with that of Buddha, claim for the whole of the Scandinavian mythology, an Asiatic origin of far more remote and mysterious antiquity.' p. 79.

3. The Anglo-Saxon lay, on the battle of Brunanburh fought A. D. 938, between Athelstan the first Saxon monarch of all England, and Constantine King of Scotland, and Onlauf King of Ireland, with a confederacy of Norman Sea-Kings,

has been translated by Mr. Price, and published in his recent edition of Warton's History of English Poetry.* This translation is remarkably well adapted to give the mere English reader an adequate notion of the peculiar style and character of Anglo-Saxon poetry, by closely rendering the grammatical inflections of the original, and connecting the narrative by explanatory words supplied in parentheses, so as to preserve the original idiom as nearly as possible, without at the same time producing obscurity.

Want of room prevents our noticing at large the lay on the death of Byrhtnoth, alderman of Northumbria, who was slain in repelling an invasion of the Danes, A. D. 991. Mr. Conybeare, who is perhaps influenced by that prepossession natural to a scholar in favor of any branch of literature on which he has bestowed considerable time and labor, finds here again, in the general features of the composition, a near approximation to the war scenes of Homer.

'If names like Byrhtnoth and Godric,' says he, 'could be substituted for Patroclus and Menelaus, it might be almost literally translated into a cento of lines from the great father and fountain of poetry; and, as it is, it reads very like a version from one of the military narratives of the Iliad, excepting its want of the characteristic similes.' *Introduction,* p. lxxxviii.

4. Among the narrative poetry derived from Scriptural sources, is the History of Judith, a fragment of which Mr. Turner has translated some passages, and which, he justly remarks, deserves to be considered an original narrative poem, since the outline only of the story is borrowed from that apocryphal book;—the coloring and filling up having been supplied by the Saxon poet. This class also includes a metrical paraphrase of the book of Genesis, the Exodus of the Israelites, the story of Daniel, &c. ascribed to Cædmon,—of whom we have an unquestionable fragment, which has been already noticed. The paraphrase itself ought probably to be attributed to some more modern author, and perhaps assigned to the Danish-Saxon period. Still it bears a strong likeness, in the general features of its style, to that undoubted relic of the father of Anglo-Saxon poetry. The *exordium* of the paraphrase, for example, conveys the same thoughts, clothed in nearly the same language with the Hymn of Cædmon to the Creation.

After this exordium, the pride, rebellion, and fall of Satan

* Vol. I. Dissert. I. Note, p. lxxxvii.

with his companions, is related, with an account of the creation of the world of man, in order to supply the place of the angelic host. This account bears a considerable resemblance to the prose narrative of the same events, contained in the Norwegian work before mentioned, *Kóngskuggsja*, or the Royal Mirror; thus indicating the identity of the theological ideas prevalent among the Northern nations during the middle ages. This remark is especially applicable to the speech ascribed to Satan, which also bears a strong similitude to the Miltonic strain, as will be apparent from the following passage faithfully translated by Mr. Conybeare.

'Is this the hateful place (unlike, indeed,
Those seats we once in Heaven's high kingdom knew)
To which the conqueror chains me, never more,—
Expelled by him, the Almighty One, to gain
That realm! How hath he wrong'd us of our right,
That the dread flame of this infernal gulf
Pours full upon us, and denies us Heaven!
That Heaven, alas! he destines to receive
The sons of men: 'tis this that grieves me most,
That Adam, he the earthborn, should possess
My glorious seat; that he should live in joy,
And we in hell's avenging horrors pine.
O that my hands were free, that I might hence
But for a time, but for a winter's day!
Then with this host: but that these knotted chains
Encompass, that these iron bands press on me.
O! I am kingdomless; hell's fetters cling
Hard on each limb: above, beneath, the flame
Fierce rages: sight more horrible mine eyes
Ne'er yet have witness'd. O'er these scorching deeps
The fire no respite knows: the strong forged chain,
With ever-biting links, forbids my course.'

5. The style of King Alfred's metrical version of the poetical portions of Boethius *de Consolatione Philosophiæ*, is distinguished from that of the Cædmonian school, by its greater simplicity of diction and comparative want of poetical phraseology. It is more properly a paraphrase than a translation. The great object of the illustrious scholar in rendering this work into his vernacular tongue, was the improvement of his people. It was prepared for their instruction, and adapted to their capacities. Hence he has sometimes expanded the original into inordinate length, and at others entirely omitted

whole passages, which he deemed less adapted to his patriotic purpose. Still it may be considered as a very interesting monument of the language in its purest age, and an object of literary curiosity, as the earliest translation extant of an ancient classical writer, into any modern European tongue.

6. The Song of the Traveller, contained in the Exeter manuscript, is a poetical narrative of the adventures of a wandering Skald, bard, or minstrel, not unlike those related in the Icelandic Saga of Gunnlaug. Mr. Conybeare refers its original composition to some unknown continental author, about the middle of the fifth century, although he supposes it may have been wrought into its present shape at some later period. It contains a minute and not very poetical account of the numerous widely scattered tribes and nations visited by the author; and concludes with a flattering picture of the honors heaped upon the votaries of the muse, by the princes of the Gothic race, similar to those claimed and received by the ancient bards of Greece.

'So sped the Bard, by kings and heroes sought,
And wide as o'er the nations still he roved,
One constant truth his long experience taught,
Who loves his people is alone beloved.
Thus north and south where'er they roam,
The sons of song still find a home,
Speak unreproved their wants, and raise
Their grateful lay of thanks and praise.
For still the Chief, who seeks to grace
By fairest fame his pride of place,
Withholds not from the sacred Bard,
His well-earn'd praise and high reward.
But free of hand, and large of soul,
Where'er extends his wide control
Unnumber'd gifts his princely love proclaim,
Unnumber'd voices raise to Heaven his princely name.'

Conybeare, p. 26.

ART. III.—*Life of Henry Clay.*

Biography of Henry Clay. By GEORGE D. PRENTICE, Esq. 12mo. pp. 304. Hartford, Conn. 1831.

In our last number we offered a succinct notice of the principal events in the life of an eminent British statesman, who has elevated himself by the mere force of talent, industry and good conduct, with little aid from favorable circumstances, and generally in opposition to the strong tide of executive and aristocratic influences, from the rank of a private citizen to the highest legal and political dignities in one of the mightiest empires of the world. We now propose to lay before our readers, a rapid sketch of the career of a not less distinguished citizen of our own country, who, in like manner, unaided by circumstances, and depending entirely on his own intellectual and moral resources, has risen from obscurity to eminence, but who, from acting in concert with prevailing parties, and in the administration of the Government, has exercised a more direct influence on the progress of affairs, and who is probably destined to reach hereafter a station of still more exalted official dignity. Such examples are among the most effective and interesting forms in which the great moral lessons that ought to regulate the practical conduct of life, can be inculcated on the community. The history of what such men have done or attempted, in promoting the great cause of improvement and human happiness, is an excellent guide to the efforts of the young and ardent, while their well-earned fame and popularity furnish the strongest incentives to persevering and vigorous exertion. Even their occasional disappointments and reverses, compensated as they have been or will be, by eventual triumph, are fraught with encouragement, inasmuch as they prove that an honest, consistent and dignified course, is, after all, the only road to ultimate success; and that the miserable, time-serving policy, which bends to every caprice of popular or princely favor, is as ineffectual for the promotion of its own selfish objects, as it is disgraceful to the sordid spirits who can stoop to practise it. The frequent contemplation of such characters improves and elevates the tone of public feeling. It represses the vulgar appetite for sensual pleasure, wealth, and the mere names of office. It makes men see and feel that there are objects in life not only more important in

themselves, but more attractive in the pursuit, and more glorious in the attainment, than any of these. It inspires the generous ambition of acquiring distinction, not by a paltry system of intrigue and party management, but by the persevering and active employment of high intellectual endowments, for the promotion of the public good. It is only by the general prevalence of such sentiments among the young and active portion of the citizens, that our republican institutions can be preserved in their present vigor and purity. They constitute that *public virtue* which has been justly described as the vital principle of popular governments,—the conservative power which alone can secure them from the abuses to which they are peculiarly prone, abuses even more frightful and disgusting than those of any other form of polity.

We deem it more especially important to hold up to the view and imitation of the public these high examples of worth and talent, at a time when there seems to be in certain quarters a disposition to discourage all exertions but those which are directed to merely selfish objects. We are sometimes told, that it is of little importance by whom the Government of the country is administered; that our political agents in the exercise of their limited powers can do but little good or harm, and that individuals may as well devote their attention exclusively to their own concerns, and leave those of the public to take care of themselves. We have heard persons of education, talent, leisure and good intentions, remark, with a sort of satisfaction, that they did not go to the polls once in three years. Such errors are dangerous, and if they became general, would be fatal to the prosperity of the country. The people of the United States have taken into their own hands the immediate superintendence of all their social and political interests. The agents of evil are always busy; the promotion of their purposes requires and produces a restless and indefatigable activity. If their efforts are not resisted by the upright and well-meaning with corresponding energy, they of course triumph, and their triumph is followed, at a greater or less interval of time, by the ruin of the community. Life is, and was intended to be, a perpetual and active warfare between the adherents of good and evil. Those, who from indolence or selfishness withdraw from the struggle, are every where the most dangerous allies of the latter party; and as they share their guilt, so they always sooner or later partake of their

reward. Their darling wealth, to the augmentation of which they sacrifice every higher consideration, is torn from them in the indiscriminate rage of civil commotion. Conscriptions, proscriptions, forced loans, political and personal persecution under the forms of law, visit them in the retirement of the compting-room and the dwelling-house, and they are crushed, at last, under the load of miseries incident to the last stages of misgovernment; all of which might, and in most cases would, have been averted, had this class of men regularly gone to the polls, while they had it in their power. Hence it was, that the Athenian lawgiver wisely ordained, that in all political divisions, every citizen should take either one side or the other; and it may be said with perfect truth, that without a pretty general observation of this principle, the forms of popular government are impracticable.

It is, therefore, of high importance, that eminent examples of public virtue should be constantly kept before the view of the people; and it is also but just to the individuals themselves, who have given these examples, that their services should be requited during their lives, at least by public acknowledgements of respect and gratitude. A citizen who devotes himself to the public service, especially in this country, is a standing mark for outrage and calumny, which are the more virulent in proportion to the purity and elevation of his character. It is the duty of those who approve his conduct, to sustain and encourage him, by express testimonials of approbation, and not to leave his vindication entirely to the slow award of posterity. For these reasons, we have deemed it proper and useful to devote a few pages to a rapid sketch of the political life of Mr. Clay. The materials for such a sketch, which are of course for the most part in possession of the public, are arranged in a methodical and agreeable form in the work before us, which also contains some interesting particulars, not so generally known, of his earlier life.

Henry Clay was born in Hanover County, Virginia, on the 12th of April, 1777. His father was a clergyman of talent and respectability. He probably superintended himself the education of his son, who had received no other public instruction than such as is afforded by the common schools, when he was placed in the office of Mr. Tinsley, Clerk of the High Court of Chancery at Richmond, Virginia. In this situation

he of course came into personal contact with the most distinguished men in the State, and attracted their attention so strongly by his talents and amiable qualities, that some of them, particularly Chancellor Wythe and Governor Brooke, persuaded him, at the age of nineteen, to undertake the study of the law. The state of society and of the bar rules at this period afforded great facilities for entering on the profession, and Mr. Clay, after a year's study, was admitted to practice at the age of twenty. He removed soon after to Lexington, Kentucky, where he has since resided. He continued his studies at this place about a year longer, and during this period exercised himself in speaking at the meetings of the Debating Society. At his first attempt he exhibited the fluency and fervor, which have since formed the character of his maturer eloquence. 'He rose,' says Mr. Prentice, 'under some embarrassment, and addressed the President of the Society by the title of *Gentlemen of the Jury*, but he gradually gained confidence from his own efforts, and, finally, concentrating all his powers upon the subject in debate, he surprised his audience with a beauty and compass of voice, an exuberance of eloquence and a force of argument well worthy of a veteran orator. A gentleman who heard this speech has assured us, that it would hardly suffer in comparison with the most brilliant efforts made by its author in after life. His reputation as a speaker was of course established, and he became immediately a leading champion in all the debates of the Society.'

The bar of Lexington was at this time highly respectable, comprehending among its members such men as George Nicholas, John Breckenridge, James Brown, James Hughes, William Murray, and several others, all of whom would have figured as leading attornies at any Court. But, notwithstanding the number and ability of his competitors, Mr. Clay came at once into extensive practice, and was intrusted with more suits than any other practitioner. He particularly distinguished himself in the management of criminal cases, and it is remarked by his biographer, that not one of his clients was ever sentenced to death. The following anecdotes afford a striking illustration of the extent of the influence which he exercised as an advocate, even in the earlier periods of his professional career.

'An interesting criminal case in which Mr. Clay was engaged, was tried in Harrison County. Two Germans, father and son, had been indicted for murder, and Mr. C. was employed to defend them. The deed of killing was proved to the entire satisfaction of the Court, and was considered as an aggravated murder. The whole of Mr. C's efforts were consequently directed, not to the entire exculpation of the defendants, but to the saving of their lives. After a warm and unintermitted struggle of five days, he succeeded. The Jury found a verdict of manslaughter. Not satisfied with this signal triumph, Mr. C. moved an arrest of judgment, and, after another day's contest, prevailed in this also, and, of course, the prisoners were discharged, without even the punishment of the crime of which the Jury found them guilty. During the whole of this long trial, an old, ill-favored German female, who was the wife of the elder prisoner and mother of the younger, had been sitting in one unvaried posture, watching the countenances of the Jury, and listening to the spirited contest of the counsel, though she probably understood little of the language in which it was conducted. After the success of the final motion in arrest of judgment, a gentleman, who had been observing her, approached the place where she sat, and whispered in her ear, that her husband and son were acquitted. Her sudden rapture broke over all restraint. She threw up her arms in a wild excess of joy, ran to Mr. Clay, and, clinging with desperate strength to his neck, almost smothered him with her kisses. The young advocate, no doubt, would willingly have dispensed with these tokens of female favor; but the hearts of the spectators were so touched by the contemplation of the happiness they witnessed, that, if a smile rested for one moment upon the lip, it was a smile not of derision but of sympathy.

Among the cases in which Mr. Clay distinguished himself during the early part of his legal practice, was that of Mr. Willis, a citizen of Fayette County, who, as was supposed, had committed a murder under circumstances of peculiar cruelty and cold-bloodedness. From representations made previous to the trial, Mr. C. consented to undertake his defence, and by a mighty effort, succeeded, in almost direct defiance of testimony, in creating a division of the Jury as to the nature of the defendant's crime. This was the object at which he specifically aimed. At the next session of the Court, the Attorney for the Commonwealth moved for a *venire facias de novo*, in other words, a new trial, which was granted by the Court. Mr. Clay made no opposition to this motion, but reserved all his strength for the argument before the Jury. When his turn came for addressing them, in reply to the arguments of the Attorney for the Commonwealth, he rose, and commenced with assuming the

position, that, whatever opinion the Jury might have of the guilt or innocence of the prisoner, it was too late to convict him, for he had been *once tried*, and the law required, that no man should be put twice in jeopardy of his life for the same offence. The Court was startled at this assumption, and peremptorily prohibited the speaker from proceeding in the argument to maintain it. Mr. Clay drew himself proudly up, and remarking, that, if he was not allowed to argue the whole case to the Jury, he could have nothing more to say, made a formal bow to the Court, put his books into his green bag, and, with Roman dignity, left the hall, followed by his associate counsel. The consequence was as he had foreseen. He had not been at his lodgings more than five or ten minutes, when he was waited on by a messenger from the Court, requesting his return, and assuring him that he should be permitted to argue the case in his own way. Instantly he made his re-appearance in the hall, pressed, with the utmost vehemence, the point he had before attempted to establish, and, on the ground that his client had once been tried, prevailed on the Jury to give him his liberty, without any reference whatever to the testimony against him. Such a decision could not now be obtained in Kentucky,—and, at the period in question, was obviously contrary to law.'

Although frequently employed in criminal cases, he was, says his biographer, not less successful in civil suits. The decision and promptitude of his practice are curiously illustrated in the following anecdote.

'In suits that involved the land laws of Virginia and Kentucky, he had no rival. But it would be in vain to attempt even an enumeration of the cases, in which, during the early years of his practice, he gathered a rich harvest of gold and fame. In a short biographical notice that was given of him about three years ago, we find mention of an incident in his professional life, which was certainly a striking illustration of the rapidity of his intellectual combinations, and his power of seizing intuitively upon the strong points of a case. We give it as a single specimen of what he could do. In conjunction with another attorney of eminence, whose name we have forgotten, he was employed to argue, in the Fayette Circuit Court, a question of great difficulty,—one, in which the interests of the litigant parties were both deeply involved. At the opening of the Court, something occurred to call him away, and the whole management of the case devolved on his associate counsel. Two days were spent in discussing the points of law, which were to govern the instructions of the Court to the Jury, and on each of these

points Mr. Clay's colleague was foiled by his antagonist. At the end of the second day Mr. Clay re-entered the Court. He had not heard a word of the testimony, and knew nothing of the course which the discussion had taken, but, after holding a very short consultation with his colleague, he drew up a statement of the form in which he wished the instructions of the Court to be given to the Jury, and accompanied his petition with a few observations so novel and satisfactory, that it was granted without the least hesitation. A corresponding verdict was instantly returned by the Jury; and thus the case, which had been on the very point of being decided against Mr. Clay's client, was decided in his favor, in less than half an hour after Mr. Clay entered the Court-House.'

We pass rapidly over the professional career of Mr. Clay, and come at once to his political life, which is the chief object of the present sketch. His active concern in the affairs of his own State began almost as early as his admission to the bar. The people of Kentucky were then engaged in framing a new Constitution, and one of the features of the plan which had been submitted to them was a provision for the gradual emancipation of the slaves. In opposition to the known prejudices of a majority of the people, Mr. Clay stood forward as the ardent and vigorous advocate of this principle. His pen was busy in the journals, and his voice was fearlessly raised at public meetings in favor of the election of members of the Convention, who would procure its adoption. So early in life did he profess, in relation to this most important and delicate question, the principles to which he has ever since adhered, and which form so honorable a trait in his moral character. The advocates of an opposite system prevailed, and Mr. Clay suffered, in consequence of the part he took on this occasion, a temporary unpopularity, which was, however, removed the next year by his exertions on the popular side of the great political questions which then agitated the Union. 'A gentleman who was present at one of the public discussions of these questions, informed us,' says Mr. Prentice, 'that it would be impossible to give an adequate idea of the effect produced.' The populace had assembled in the fields in the vicinity of Lexington, and were first addressed by Mr. George Nicholas, a gentleman of distinction, and a powerful speaker. After he had finished, the name of *Clay* was shouted from all parts of the assembly. The young orator made his appearance, and, under the disad-

vantage of following so able a leader, acquitted himself with perfect success. One or two gentlemen then attempted to sustain the opposite opinion, but found some difficulty in getting a hearing. When the meeting was over, the people took Nicholas and Clay upon their shoulders, and, forcing them into a carriage, drew them through the streets with shouts of applause. This was in the year 1798, when Mr. Clay was of course twenty-one years of age. The triumph of an orator who happens to be sustaining a popular cause, is, no doubt, comparatively easy; but it is impossible not to recognise in the facility with which Mr. Clay took his station, at so early an age, among the leading men of the State, and in the influence which he already exercised over his fellow-citizens, the result not merely of superior talent and eloquence, but of a bold and commanding energy of character, which could not fail, if at all favored by circumstances, to give him, as it has done, a place among the most distinguished statesmen of the Union.

In 1803, Mr. Clay was elected a member of the Legislature of the State. The circumstances attending his election were highly honorable to him, and evinced, like those which have just been mentioned, the strong hold which he had already obtained upon the confidence of the people. It was at that time, as it is now, the practice in Kentucky and the other Southern and Western States, for gentlemen to present themselves as candidates to the legislative bodies, and to attend at the polls and harangue the electors during the progress of the canvass. We are not sure that this method, which is also employed in the mother country, is not, on the whole, a better one than the *caucussing* system which prevails in the Northern and Middle States, and that it is not one of the reasons why the sections of the Union, in which it is in use, are, on the average, better represented than the others. The caucussing system, by reducing the effective electors to a small and secret cabal of thirty or forty persons, carries with it most of the inconveniences and abuses of the British practice of borough-mongering, while the necessity which the candidate finds himself under, on the other plan, of sustaining for two or three days before the people, the severe ordeal of an open discussion, affords some security that merit and talent will not be made to give way to imbecility, supported by management and intrigue. Be this, however, as it may, Mr. Clay, in opposition to the general practice in his own State, was

nominated in his absence, by his friends, and did not appear at the polls until nearly the close of the election. In the mean time, other candidates, of more advanced age and of higher pretensions, had offered themselves, and were busily engaged in gaining friends. On the third day, the young orator appeared upon the ground, and addressed the people with so much effect, that his election was carried by acclamation.

On his first appearance in his legislative capacity, he distinguished himself in a debate upon a question of local politics, in which he was opposed by Mr. Felix Grundy (since a conspicuous politician in the neighboring State of Tennessee and in the councils of the Union,) and carried his point against his able antagonist. About this time he acted as the leading counsel for Aaron Burr, on his trial before the District Court, and procured his acquittal. He had been induced to undertake this cause by a letter from Burr, in which he declared, in the most positive terms and on the honor of a gentleman, his entire innocence of the charges brought against him. Having afterwards ascertained, to his full satisfaction, that these charges were well founded, Mr. Clay considered himself as having cause of complaint against Burr, on account of the unequivocal assurances he had given him to the contrary, and, on meeting him accidentally in a court-room at New York, some years after, refused to take his hand when it was offered before the court and assistants. Such is the brief outline of the relations between Mr. Clay and Colonel Burr, which have sometimes been urged by the enemies of the former as a topic of reproach against him.

In the year 1806, General Adair, one of the Senators of the State in Congress, having resigned his place, Mr. Clay was elected to occupy it for the remainder of the term, which was only one year. It was in this capacity that he first appeared at Washington. At the moment of his arrival, a question was under debate respecting the expediency of authorizing the erection of a bridge over the Potomac to Georgetown, which, for reasons not mentioned by the biographer, seems to have been opposed. Mr. Clay, immediately upon taking his seat, made a brilliant and effective speech in favor of the bridge, which is said to have settled the question, the votes before having been equally divided. It is worthy of remark, that his first effort in Congress was thus made in support of the great principle of *Internal Improvement*, the favorite object of so many of his later labors. The leading question at this session of Congress,

was the suspension of the *habeas corpus* act, for the purpose of enabling the Government to arrest Colonel Burr. Considering himself as restrained by the delicacy of his position as counsel for Burr during his late trial, Mr. Clay took no part in the debate on this subject. On his return to Kentucky, after the expiration of his term in the Senate, he was immediately re-elected to the State Legislature, and at the opening of the next session was chosen Speaker of the General Assembly by a large majority, and remained in that capacity for several successive years. The peculiar talent which he displayed for the performance of the difficult and delicate functions of this office, probably contributed a good deal to his subsequent elevation to the corresponding station in the House of Representatives of the United States. He often descended from the Speaker's chair to take a part in the debates, and particularly distinguished himself at the next session after his return from Congress, by a powerful speech on a very important question connected with the administration of justice. A motion was made to prohibit the reading in court of any British decision or elementary work on law. It was understood that a large majority of the Assembly were in favor of it. Mr. Clay moved to amend the resolution by limiting it to such decisions as took place previously to the declaration of Independence, and thus leaving the common and statute law, as they stood at that period, in force. The amendment was warmly opposed, but, after a long and spirited contest, Mr. Clay prevailed. By his efforts on this occasion, he no doubt rendered a great and permanent service to the State of Kentucky. As he has been sometimes represented by his enemies as a mere demagogue, whose only means of producing effect was to join and lead in the popular clamor of the day, it may be proper to remark, in connexion with this subject, that, from the commencement of his political career up to the present time, his greatest efforts have been made as frequently in opposition to, as in concurrence with the popular feeling, and apparently in both cases with equal success. We have seen, that his first appearance in Kentucky in the political field, was in the character of an advocate of the unpopular doctrine of the emancipation of the slaves. On the occasion just mentioned, he placed himself in direct opposition to the popular sentiment. In the subsequent party division between the friends of the Old and New Court, which for so many years disturbed the State, Mr. Clay acted in like manner

with the party which was considered unpopular, but which he finally sustained by his great eloquence and talent against all opposition. Lastly, on the interesting occasion of the election of President of the United States by the House of Representatives, in 1825, he employed his influence, and gave his vote in favor of the candidate who might have been fairly considered as the least popular of the three, whose names were before the House. These remarkable cases, occurring at different periods in the course of his life, sufficiently evince that in the regulation of his political conduct, he has been governed by fixed principles, and not by a selfish regard for temporary popularity.

The account given in the work before us of the speech of Mr. Clay in support of the Common Law, on the occasion just mentioned, is highly interesting, and affords another striking illustration, in addition to those already given, of the prodigious effect which at this period of his life attended the displays of his eloquence. It may also convey some useful lessons to those persons among us, who are rather too fond of declaiming against all existing institutions, and representing respect for antiquity as a mere prejudice. Respect for antiquity, although, like every other principle, it may be occasionally abused, and although it must be sometimes superseded in practice by other considerations of more immediate urgency, is doubtless one of the most correct and wholesome, as it is also one of the most natural motives of conduct. Those who represent it as a dangerous prejudice, only show that they have yet to learn the elements of political science.

'This effort of Mr. Clay has justly been considered by himself and his friends as one of the greatest intellectual achievements of his life. The prejudices of the multitude against the common law are almost universal; and at the time of which we have spoken, they existed in Kentucky in all their strength. The common people have heard, that this law, consisting as it does of all the reported decisions of the British courts, fills hundreds of volumes, and they do not readily comprehend how the men of the present day can become acquainted with it, and much less give it a practical application in this country. They are apt to look upon it as a mere shapeless mass of incongruities and absurdities, that has been accumulating for years and centuries. They imagine that it is half made up of frivolous precepts and ludicrous distinctions, which have no better effect than to set common sense and common justice at nought, by the conviction

of the innocent, and the discharge of the guilty. They are not aware that the common law is the embodied wisdom of ages, and that, although it may appear irregular at first view, it will be seen, when viewed in the light of a few plain principles, to be a system of unrivalled symmetry, beauty, and magnificence. They do not know, that its fundamental rules are so simple and well established, that the most unlettered can readily learn them, but suppose that the whole system, ancient and mighty as it is, might advantageously give place to a few hasty statutes devised by the discordant spirits of a State Legislature. It was against such prejudices and such misapprehensions, that Mr. Clay was obliged to contend, and he did it with a power of argument and eloquence, that almost surprised himself. He did not "check his strength in mid volley,"—the whole was put forth, for the time demanded it. In portraying that spirit of Vandalism, which mocks at the wisdom of the "world's grey fathers," and would wantonly make wreck of a system fraught with the intellectual wealth of centuries, and whelm its last fragment beneath the wave, Mr. Clay was great beyond expression. A gentleman, who was in the lobby of the House, and who has since risen to distinction, has averred, that all his subsequent ideas of perfect eloquence have been formed upon that one model. It surpassed any thing which he has since heard or had before conceived. Every muscle of the orator's face was at work, his whole body seemed agitated, as if each part were instinct with a separate life, and his small white hand, with its blue veins apparently distended almost to bursting, moved gracefully, but with all the energy of rapid and vehement gesture. The appearance of the speaker seemed that of a pure intellect wrought up to its mightiest energies, and brightly glowing through the thin and transparent veil of flesh that enrobed it. Our informant represents himself as having gazed upon the orator, and listened to his moving and impetuous eloquence, till he half lost his sense of individual existence, and, on the first return of perfect consciousness, he found that tears, in spite of his manhood, were streaming down his cheeks. Ashamed of his weakness, and unaware that nearly the whole audience was in the same situation with himself, he dried his tears, and, with feelings partially indurated by resolution, again gave his attention to the speaker. In a few moments, he found that the waters of emotion had gushed out anew from their fountain, and he now suffered them to flow uncontrolled, for he saw that he wept not alone. This great effort of Mr. Clay was materially different from those of more modern date. It was probably accompanied by a degree of physical exertion, which, in his recent condition of bodily debility, he would have been unable to endure even for a short period of time.'

In the year 1809, Mr. Thruston, another Senator in Congress, having resigned his place, Mr. Clay was called upon to occupy it for the remainder of his term, which was two years, and took his seat accordingly in the Senate at the close of that year. As the first speech which he had made during his former service as Senator, was in favor of *Internal Improvement*, so it happened, by a rather singular coincidence, that the first which he made during his second term was in support of the encouragement and protection by Government of *domestic manufactures*. The hostile attitude assumed by some of the great foreign powers towards the United States, had at this time induced our leading politicians to calculate the probability of war, and to see the necessity of making preparations for it in advance. With this general purpose, a bill was brought into the Senate to appropriate a sum of money for procuring supplies of cordage, sail-cloth, and other articles of use in war. During the progress of this bill through its different stages, an amendment was proposed, providing that a preference should be given to articles of American growth and manufacture, wherever it could be done without material detriment to the public service. At the present day, when the great advantages resulting from the possession of home manufactures are so generally admitted, it will hardly be thought possible that such a proposition should have been resisted, and least of all by the representatives of this quarter of the Union. The amendment was, however, urgently opposed by a Senator from Massachusetts, and a long debate ensued upon the general question of the expediency of the protecting policy, in which Mr. Clay maintained the same opinions which he has ever since supported with so much zeal, talent, and success, as to have acquired the honorable title of the Father of the American System. We shall presently advert again to this subject, and will only now remark, that it is curious, on looking back to this debate, to find how completely the original objections to the protecting policy have been abandoned, and others taken up, which were not then thought of. The objections which were urged at this period, were founded in the supposed unfavorable influence of manufactures, as an occupation, upon the morals of the persons engaged in them, as evinced by the corrupt state, in this respect, of the manufacturing establishments of the old countries. Experience has long since shown the error of this supposition, and the opponents of the protecting policy, abandoning every

other ground, have for some time past entrenched themselves on that of unconstitutionality, which was never suggested until the year 1824, when the system had already in its favor a prescription of thirty years, enough of itself to settle the principle, if there is ever to be any thing settled in the practice of the Government. It is also curious to see how completely the geographical character of the parties respectively sustaining, and opposing the protecting policy, has changed since this time. It was then opposed by the Eastern States, who thought they saw their interest in an exclusive devotion to navigation; and was sustained with great vigor by the South. It is now as vigorously sustained in the East, where the people have learned to understand better the true principles of their own prosperity, and resisted by the South with the same zeal with which it was formerly supported there. Would it be too uncharitable to suggest, that the lines of policy pursued by the South at these two periods,—directly opposed as they are to each other,—may be reconciled by attributing the adoption of them, in part at least, to the jealousy of Northern influence, which has sometimes, perhaps unjustly, been supposed to prevail in some other sections of the Union.

The subject had not, however, at this time obtained the importance in public opinion, which has since been attached to it. The leading questions of the two sessions of 1810 and 1811, were the occupation of West Florida and the renewal of the charter of the Bank. Our confined limits prevent us from entering in detail upon these subjects, of which the former has since, in the progress of events, lost its importance, while the latter is again at this moment, and is likely to be for several years to come, one of the most important subjects of public discussion. On this and all the other topics that came before the Senate, Mr. Clay distinguished himself as one of the leading members of that body, and one of the most effective champions of the party then in power. At this time, he opposed the re-chartering of the Bank. When the question of establishing another came up five years after, he used his influence in favor of it. How far this apparent inconsistency is to be accounted for by a change of opinion, and how far by the difference between the principles on which the two Banks were respectively constituted, is an inquiry into which we have not space to enter, and which, as there can be no suspicion in either case of any improper motive, is of no import-

ance. Mr. Clay is understood to be at present in favor of sustaining the Bank on the same footing on which it was reorganized in 1818, and has ever since existed with so much benefit to the country. On the expiration of his term of service in the Senate in 1811, he returned to Kentucky, and was immediately after elected a member of the House of Representatives of the United States, where he took his seat in the winter of the same year.

Mr. Clay was at this time about thirty-five years of age, a period of life when the intellectual powers of most men have just attained their full maturity, and are beginning to mark out for them the place which they are to occupy in the opinion of the world. So much, however, had Mr. Clay anticipated the usual progress, and such already was the extent of his influence, not merely in his own State, but on the wider theatre of national politics, that, on his first appearance as a new member in the House of Representatives, he was chosen Speaker by a vote of nearly two to one over two opposing candidates. No mark of respect and confidence at all equal to this has ever been bestowed by the House of Representatives upon any other person, and the best proof that it was not the result of any combination of accidental circumstances or momentary caprice, is to be found in the fact, that the confidence thus bestowed was never afterwards withdrawn or shaken. During the long period of Mr. Clay's congressional career, which lasted, with two short intervals, from this time till his entrance into the Department of State in 1825, he was regularly elected Speaker of each successive House of Representatives, we believe, without opposition. It is admitted, in fact, by all, that in discharging the arduous and honorable duties of this place, he was singularly successful. Though eminently prompt, firm, and decisive, the frankness and urbanity of his manner prevented any one from taking offence, and rendered him a general favorite. The place of Speaker, when occupied by a person whose talents and character qualify him to do it justice, is one of the most important stations in the Government. It does not, according to the practice of our legislative assemblies, preclude the person holding it from taking an active part in the debates of the House. Indeed, his influence in debate is increased by the consideration which attaches itself to his ordinary functions. These, on the other hand, including as they do the appointment of committees, and the regulation of

the course of proceedings, give him to a certain extent the control of the whole business, that is, of the whole legislation of the country. The public opinion respecting the comparative importance of particular official stations in our Government, is determined in part by that which prevails in Europe concerning the corresponding ones abroad. But where the essential principles of Government are different, the same names and forms do not always indicate the same things; and when the importance of our various political stations shall have been settled, as it eventually must be, by their ascertained influence in practice, it will probably be understood that the Speaker of the House of Representatives is second in political consequence only to the President of the United States. Such at all events may be, and has been his position, when his personal qualifications have enabled him to bring out fully into view the capacities belonging to the post which he occupies.

There is commonly in all countries some one person, who at each particular period, gives for the time being by the force of his own character, or the weakness of those on whom he operates, an impulse to the progress of political affairs. It does not always happen, that the highest ostensible functionary is also the actual director. In the corrupt courts of the old world, and we wish we could say that this state of things is exclusively confined to them, the main-spring of the political machine is sometimes to be found in the *bureau* of some nameless subaltern, or perhaps in the *boudoir* of a female of doubtful character. In England and this country, where the road to public employment is open to all, and where the public business is transacted in the broad daylight of a free press, such cases are necessarily rare; and in general the talent which enables the individual to give a direction to the public policy, will also place him in some high and responsible office. After the triumph of the democratic party in 1800, Mr. Jefferson was the active and ostensible leader while he remained in office, and Mr. Madison after him exercised the same influence. That of Mr. Monroe was less decisive, and in his hands the office of President lost some of its importance. From the time when Mr. Clay was elected to the House of Representatives, and especially after his return from Europe, at the close of the war, until his retirement from political affairs, in 1825, he may perhaps be fairly considered as having been the most influential statesman in the country. During

the war, and while Mr. Madison was in office, Mr. Clay was the acknowledged leader in the House of Representatives, and of course exercised more influence than any other person in giving effect to the plans of the Government. Randolph had appeared on the same theatre a few years before with extraordinary brilliancy, and had he pursued a steady and consistent course, would probably from his more advanced age, and equal if not superior natural powers, have taken the lead out of Mr. Clay's hands. But the wayward and capricious temperament of this singular personage threw him almost immediately out of the sphere of useful activity, and degraded him for life from the station of a political leader to that of a sort of Ishmael, whose hand was against every man, and every man's hand against him. Mr. Clay assumed at once the direction which might have fallen into Mr. Randolph's hands, and as we remarked above, exercised from that time forward, more influence than any other person in the House of Representatives. This too, was probably the time when his eloquence had reached its highest degree of perfection, and being also put forth under greater excitement, exhibited itself in speeches which have not been surpassed or perhaps equalled by any of those of subsequent date. But although his influence in carrying into effect the plans of Government was of this decisive nature, his personal responsibility for the character of these measures is less complete, than for those which were adopted after his return from Europe. Our controversies with foreign powers and among ourselves, which grew out of the French revolution, and terminated in the war with England, had assumed a definite form before the entrance of Mr. Clay into public life. The share which he took in them was determined of course by circumstances in part accidental, and while these controversies lasted, his course, however brilliant and elevated, was regulated by impulses which had been given ten or fifteen years earlier, and before he commenced his political career. It is only for the great measures, which have constituted the prominent features of the policy of the country from the conclusion of peace up to the present day, and to which we shall immediately advert, that Mr. Clay is individually responsible. These measures are important innovations or improvements on the preceding policy of the country, proposed by himself, and recommended to public favor chiefly by the effect of his talent and influence.

His warmest friends need not fear to stake his reputation as a statesman upon the judgment which his contemporaries and impartial posterity have formed and will form upon the character of these measures.

For this reason, as well as from a want of space to enlarge upon every portion of a long and eventful life, we shall refrain from following in detail the course of the debates upon the declaration and conduct of the war. When we now look back to this stormy period, although we cannot but regret the occasional exhibition, on all sides, of intemperance, degenerating sometimes into personal outrage, we have yet reason to be proud, as Americans, of the manner in which these great affairs were conducted, and must admit that the prominent statesmen of the day displayed powers corresponding with the importance of the crisis at which they were called to act. Clay, Calhoun, and Cheves, on one side, Randolph, Webster, and Quincy, on the other, with their respective associates, composed an array of talent, which has rarely been assembled, at the same time, within the walls of any deliberative body. The debates were conducted, as all will recollect, with great violence. Charges of corruption, foreign influence and personal malignity, were bandied about with a good deal of freedom. Mr. Clay was the acknowledged leader of the democratic party, took an active part in all the principal debates, and sustained his opinions with the warmth and zeal that are natural to his character; but such was the kindness and frank urbanity of his manner, that he seems to have retained, without diminution, the respect and esteem of the House. At the beginning of the year 1814, he was appointed one of the Commissioners to treat for peace with Great Britain, and having accepted the trust, retired, of course, from the Speaker's chair. The circumstances attending his resignation, which are stated in the following extract, strongly evince the extent of his influence over his political associates, and his general popularity with the members of all parties.

'The official duties which now devolved upon Mr. Clay, required him to resign the Speaker's chair. At this time, his influence in the House of Representatives was equal to that which he had exercised, some years before, in the Legislature of his adopted State. His friends and his enemies agree in the remark, that his power was almost unlimited. His party was a majority in the House, and, so unbounded was the confidence

which its members reposed in his wisdom and integrity, that he could sway them by a motion of his hand. Whenever the course of a discussion failed to meet his approbation, he descended from the chair, and, by mingling in the debate, gave, at once, a new character to the proceedings. His resignation was tendered on the sixteenth of January, and accompanied by a beautiful and affecting speech, which touched every heart in the assembly, and unsealed many a fountain of tears. In the generous feelings of the hour, even the federalists wept freely, that a master-spirit was going out from among them. A resolution, thanking him in fervid language for the impartiality with which he had administered the arduous duties of office, was passed almost unanimously; —only eight or nine members voting against it. Probably there was no other man in the nation, who, at that stormy period, could have presided with such signal energy over the deliberations of the popular branch of Congress, and yet have commanded the approbation of so vast a majority of both political parties.'

The leading part in the conduct of the negotiations with Great Britain, which terminated in the treaty of Ghent, devolved, of course, upon the veteran diplomatist who was placed at the head of the commission, and it is therefore unnecessary to our present purpose to enlarge upon this subject. A difference of opinion is understood to have existed between Messrs. Adams and Clay, on some of the topics of minor importance, which came under discussion. This fact, taken in connexion with the extraordinary harmony which prevailed between them throughout the whole of the last administration, serves to show how easily men who have the good of the country at heart, can overlook those inferior considerations, of a merely private character, which so often distract the councils of selfish politicians. During his absence on this business, Mr. Clay visited several of the most interesting parts of Europe, and received every where the attention to which his reputation and official character entitled him, and which the warmth and frankness of his manners were so well fitted to secure. On his return to the United States, he was greeted with great enthusiasm, particularly in his own State. He had been re-elected to Congress, during his absence, but some doubts having been raised,—very unnecessarily as it would seem,—respecting the legality of this choice, another was ordered, which resulted in a similar expression of the feelings of his constituents.

From this time, until his retirement from public life, Mr. Clay, as we have already remarked, may be regarded as the leading statesman in the councils of the Union. The principal objects of our foreign and domestic policy, during this period, were the establishment of our relations with the emancipated Spanish Colonies, and the prosecution with increased vigor and energy of the system of protecting domestic manufactures, and developing the resources of the country by judicious plans of internal improvement, which had been acted on, to a greater or less extent, ever since the adoption of the Constitution, but of which the expediency had been more urgently pressed upon the public attention, by the experience of the late war. In the series of measures adopted in reference to both these objects, Mr. Clay took the lead, and carried the country along with him. On other questions of high importance, but of an incidental character and passing interest, such as those which grew out of the admission of the State of Missouri into the Union, and the election of Mr. Adams to the Presidency by the House of Representatives, we find him acting the same prominent part. These are the measures for which we consider him as fully responsible, and they are sufficient to establish his reputation as a bold, far-sighted, judicious, and high-minded statesman. It is indeed remarkable, that notwithstanding the persevering obloquy, with which Mr. Clay has been assailed by adherents of the party which came into power on his retirement from the administration, this party have not thought it expedient to deviate, in regard to the two great systems of measures alluded to, from the line of policy which he had marked out; so that he may be said with propriety, to govern, as it were, in spite of themselves, from the depth of his retirement, the councils of his opponents. Without pursuing chronologically the course of Mr. Clay, during the period now under consideration, we shall advert successively, in a cursory manner, to the part he took in reference to the several subjects above alluded to, and first, the establishment of our relations with the Spanish American Colonies.

The emancipation of these Colonies was one of the most remarkable results of the new direction, which had been given to the course of political affairs by our own revolution, and constituted of itself a very critical epoch in the history of the Christian world; the whole importance of which, as of all other really momentous events, will not be apparent until the

lapse of time has given them their full developement. To this country it was particularly interesting. It opened to our commerce the ports of a vast continent, with its dependant islands, situated in our immediate neighborhood, already extensively peopled and cultivated, and capable of increasing its resources to an indefinite degree, which had been hitherto closed by the commercial monopoly of the mother country. Politically viewed, it entirely changed our position in the commonwealth of nations. Instead of being an isolated power, separated from every other by a thousand leagues of ocean, we were to have in future a number of independent States at our own doors, with which our relations would, of course, be hostile or friendly, according to the degree of judgment with which they were in the first place established. The task of forming these relations, which devolved upon the Government immediately after the close of the war with England, was, therefore, one of extreme delicacy and high importance. The manner in which it was executed does great credit to the individuals, who exercised at this time the greatest influence in the executive and legislative departments. Although the advantages which were naturally to be expected from the judicious and generally successful conduct of the negotiations on this subject, have not yet been fully realized, in consequence of various untoward events occurring in the new States, the correctness of the line of policy pursued by this country is not the less certain, and the proceedings of the Government in relation to it will form one of the most honorable chapters in our political history.

Had the principles of the old diplomacy of Europe, which considered neighboring nations as naturally hostile to each other, been adopted among us, we should have expected to find in the nations formed out of the Spanish Colonies, a cluster of enemies and rivals, and should, probably, have attempted to prevent their emancipation. Such was in fact the policy recommended to us by the great powers of Europe. The people of the United States, and the Government which represented them, pursued a more generous, and doubtless, in the end, a far more advantageous course. They sincerely sympathized with communities situated precisely as we had been half a century before, and evidently acting under the influence of our example. A disposition was exhibited from the first in all quarters to afford our struggling neighbors all the

countenance which could be granted to them, consistently with prudence and our obligations to Spain. It was natural, however, for the Government to hold itself a little in the rear of public opinion. It was proper that the people should express themselves in clear and decisive language, before the Executive took the decisive step of a formal acknowledgement of the independence of the new States. In the work of maturing and expressing the public opinion upon this great question, Mr. Clay was, undoubtedly, far more active and efficient than any other person in the country. As early as the year 1817, President Monroe had despatched Commissioners for the purpose of ascertaining and reporting upon the situation of Spanish America. This was intended as a preliminary measure to the formation of our relations with the new States. The next winter, when the Appropriation Bill was before the House, Mr. Clay moved to amend it by inserting an article, providing for the salary of a Minister Plenipotentiary to the United Provinces of the Rio de la Plata, and accompanied his proposition with a powerful speech in support of an immediate recognition of the independence of that Government. The feelings of the House were not yet prepared for this measure, and the amendment was rejected by a large majority. Not discouraged by this result, Mr. Clay renewed his motion in the next Congress, and, after a warm debate of two or three weeks, in which he exhibited anew the vast and various resources of his eloquence, succeeded in carrying it by a handsome majority. This expression of the opinion of Congress was followed at once by decisive action on the part of the Executive. Five Ministers Plenipotentiary were immediately appointed to the principal Spanish American States, and the line of policy then entered upon has since been pursued with undeviating steadiness by all branches of the Government, excepting so far as the proceedings of the Executive were paralyzed for a short time by the impolitic opposition made in the Senate to the appointment of a Minister to the Congress of Panama. No inconvenience was found to result from the course adopted. Spain, who might have found a pretext in it for making war upon us, contented herself with an empty protest; England soon after followed our example. The great continental powers, who had at one time contemplated an avowed interference in favor of Spain, concluded to abandon the project, and the crisis passed off in the most satisfactory way. Spain

has not yet made up her mind to give in a formal adhesion to the new state of things; but after the delay, which in all important matters is considered essential to the dignity of that ceremonious Government, must finally, though perhaps too late to secure any of the advantages, which would have attended an earlier acknowledgement, take this step, and thus put the last finish to the fabric of American independence.

A celebrated British statesman, who had directed the proceedings of his Government upon this subject, remarked some years after in a public speech in allusion to them, that he had 'called a new world into existence.' This was a boast somewhat too bold and large to be made with propriety by any mere mortal in respect to this, or any other great movement in the political world. The revolutions of empires,—those tremendous moral tornadoes, that change the aspect of whole continents and affect the interests of millions of men,—can never be the results of the agency of single individuals. They are always the fruits of deeply seated, slowly working, general causes, and all that the highest efforts of individual action can effect, is to modify, in some degree, their outward forms. The emancipation of Spanish America was an event of which it is easy to trace the origin, and which was in fact foreseen and announced in 1783 by the ministers of Charles III., as one of the necessary consequences of our Revolution. The most that any individual of the present age could do, was to exercise influence, more or less decisive, in fixing the precise time and circumstances of its occurrence. The person whose influence was, in fact, most sensibly felt in this way, and who, if any one, may be said to have called a new world into existence, was not George Canning, but Henry Clay. His exertions gave its character to the policy of the United States, which again operated powerfully, if not decisively, in determining that of Great Britain and the Continental allies, and thus settling the whole question. The services of Mr. Clay have been accordingly acknowledged with enthusiastic gratitude by the patriots of Spanish America. His speeches in Congress were repeatedly read at the head of their armies, and the thanks of their Legislative Assemblies were publicly offered him on several occasions. Among the various testimonies of approbation bestowed upon his course on this subject, one of the most emphatic and honorable proceeded from an eminent citizen of this Commonwealth.

Some time after the event we have just noticed, in the year 1825, a Representative in Congress from a Southern State, who had been from the beginning violently opposed to the recognition of the independence of Spanish America, thought proper to allude in terms of severe censure to the influence which Mr. Clay had exercised in their behalf. His remarks upon this subject drew from Mr. Webster the following powerful and pointed reply.

'Pains have been taken to prove, that the whole policy of our Government respecting South America, is the unhappy result of the influence of a gentleman formerly filling the chair of this House. To make out this, reference has been made to certain speeches of that gentleman delivered here. He is charged with having become himself affected, at an early day, with the "South American fever," and with having infused its baleful influence into the whole councils of the country. If, Sir, it be true, that that gentleman, prompted by an ardent love of civil liberty, felt, earlier than others, a proper sympathy for the struggling Colonies of South America; or that, acting on the maxim, that revolutions do not go backward, he had the sagacity to see, earlier than others, the successful termination of those struggles; if, thus feeling and thus perceiving, it fell to him to lead the willing or unwilling councils of his country in her manifestations of kindness to the new government, and in her seasonable recognition of her independence; if it be this, which the honorable member imputes to him,—if it be by this course of public conduct, that he has identified his own name with the cause of South American liberty, he ought to be esteemed one of the most fortunate men of the age. If all this be as is now represented, he has acquired fame enough. It is enough for any man thus to have connected himself with the greatest events of the age in which he lives, and to have been foremost in measures, which reflect high honor on his country in the judgment of mankind. Sir, it is always with great reluctance, that I am drawn to speak, in my place here, of individuals; but I could not forbear what I have now said, when I hear in the House of Representatives, and in the land of free spirits, that it is made matter of imputation and reproach, to have been first to reach forth the hand of welcome and of succor to new-born nations, struggling to obtain and to enjoy the blessings of liberty.'

But whatever glory may hereafter attach to the name of Mr. Clay on account of the share which he has had in the promotion of Spanish American independence, he has acquired a still

stronger claim to the gratitude of his countrymen of this and future generations, by his vigorous, persevering, and successful exertions in the cause of Internal Improvement, and the encouragement of domestic industry. The appropriate appellation of the *Father of the American System*, which, as we remarked above, has been bestowed upon him by the country as a reward for these exertions, will remain like that of the *Author of the Declaration of Independence*, which Mr. Jefferson wished to have inscribed on his tomb-stone, a permanent and substantive distinction of the most honorable character, when the empty titles of the Old World, and even the official dignities of the New, will no longer be valued or even understood. The establishment of the American System was, in fact, neither more nor less than the completion of the great work of the emancipation of the country, which had been so happily commenced by the patriots of the Revolution. They secured to us the form of political independence; but 'the true sovereigns of a country,' as is well observed by one of our highest literary authorities, 'are those who determine its mind, its modes of thinking, its tastes, its principles.' While we neglected the developement of our resources, and looked to the mother country as the standard of opinion and usage in morals, politics, and all the departments of public and private economy, our national existence was a mere name, and for all substantial purposes, we were as much colonies as before. It is only by establishing at home our workshops in all the departments of useful and ornamental labor, and, especially, the literary and scientific institutions, which are the great laboratories of thought, that we have really become, or are fast becoming, an independent people. The statesman, who has had the honor of connecting his name with this change in the condition of the country, may justly be regarded as the second founder of our national independence.

The first of the two great divisions of this system, which seriously engaged the attention of the Government, was that of Internal Improvement; by which phrase, although it is, of course, susceptible of a much larger application, has been generally intended the construction of roads and canals, and the clearing away of obstructions in the channels of the water-courses. The *expediency* of carrying into effect a system of measures of this description was early perceived by the Government, and has never been disputed by any person or party;

it has also been pretty generally felt, that the business could not be left entirely to the States or to individuals, but that the co-operation of the General Government was, in many of its most important parts, absolutely necessary. The principal question on this branch of the subject has therefore been, whether the Government might go on under the Constitution, as it now stands, and make such internal improvements as might appear expedient, or whether it was necessary, in the first place, to obtain an amendment, conferring a specific authority for this purpose. This may appear at first view a comparatively unimportant difference, but, considering the difficulty, and, in fact, impossibility of carrying through any amendment of much importance, and which affects a variety of interests, the question was the same under another form, as whether the General Government should or should not take any part in the work of Internal Improvement.

Mr. Jefferson, though strongly in favor of the general principle, inclined to the negative on the point of constitutional authority, and contemplated the necessity of an amendment. Mr. Madison's course was somewhat singular. In his message at the opening of the session of Congress of 1816—17, he 'particularly invited their attention to the expediency of *exercising their existing powers*, and, when necessary, of resorting to the prescribed mode of enlarging them, in order to effectuate a comprehensive system of roads and canals, such as will have the effect of drawing more closely together every part of our country by promoting intercourse and improvement, and by increasing the share of every part in the common stock of national prosperity.' In pursuance of this recommendation, Congress, a short time before its adjournment, (on the motion of Mr. Calhoun) passed a bill, appropriating for purposes of Internal Improvement, the *bonus* which was to be paid to the General Government by the Bank of the United States, and sent it to the President for his signature on the last day but one of the session. A rumor was soon spread that Mr. Madison intended to return the bill to the House with his *veto*. Mr. Clay, on hearing this, immediately addressed to him a letter, in which he urged him not to reject the bill, but rather,—if he could not conscientiously sign it,—to leave the matter open to his successor, who was to be inaugurated on the following day. Mr. Madison,—in the discharge of what he no doubt believed a positive duty,—returned the bill on the last day of his ad-

ministration, with a message, in which he stated his belief, that the General Government had not the constitutional power to make internal improvements. Whether he had changed his opinion subsequently to the opening of the session, or whether he had in some way reconciled in his own mind the tenor of his opening and closing messages, are points which we need not here examine. The course of his successor was, probably, somewhat influenced by these proceedings. It is understood, that Mr. Monroe had included in the draft of his inaugural speech, a strong and unqualified recommendation of internal improvements under the authority of the General Government; but that after reading Mr. Madison's message, he was induced, whether from deference to his authority or acquiescence in his reasoning, to modify what he had written, and present his views in the qualified form in which they appear in the published speech. In the interval between his inauguration and the opening of the next session of Congress, he had made up his mind, that the exercise of the power in question was not authorized by the Constitution, and declared in his message, that he should put his negative upon any bill that might be passed for this purpose. His opinions seem to have subsequently undergone another change. In a long and argumentative message, which he addressed to Congress in the session of 1824—5, he took the singular, and plainly untenable ground, that Congress could appropriate money for making internal improvements, but that the money so appropriated could only be expended under the direction of the State Governments. Mr. Monroe's course on this subject during his administration, though uncertain and vacillating, was, therefore, on the whole, unfavorable to the adoption by Congress of a system of Internal Improvement.

The friends of this great measure, like those of Spanish American Independence, were therefore compelled, in the first instance, to encounter the opposition of the Executive department of the Government, which represented at this time a party completely predominant through the whole country. In both cases, Mr. Clay was the principal champion, and had the honor in both of carrying his measures against this powerful counteracting influence. The general outline of the argument is, probably, familiar to most of our readers. It was admitted, on both sides, that the power was not specifically given by the Constitution, and also that Congress had, in addition to the

powers specifically given, the right of making all laws 'necessary and proper for carrying these powers into effect.' The question was, whether the making of internal improvements, and particularly the laying out of roads and canals, was an exercise of power necessary and proper for carrying into effect any of the specific powers granted by the Constitution. Mr. Clay contended, that it was necessary and proper for carrying into effect the power to establish post-offices and post-roads, and also the power to raise armies and carry on war. This proposition seems, in fact, to be almost too plain for argument. It was, however, asserted by the champions of the opposite opinion, that though, perhaps, convenient for these purposes, it was not indispensably and absolutely necessary. The General Government, instead of laying out new roads, might order the mail to be carried over those which had been laid out by the States, and where there were none, it was natural to suppose that no mail was wanted. The clauses of the Constitution conferring power on the General Government, are to receive the strictest possible construction, and on such a construction, it is evident, that the power now claimed is not to be deduced from them. Such was the logic of the party opposed to improvement. The obvious and unanswerable reply to it was, that the language of the Constitution in all its parts is to receive neither a strict nor a latitudinarian, but a fair and natural construction, and that the general clause alluded to above, when construed in this way, evidently authorizes laws that are suitable and convenient for carrying into effect the great objects of the Government, even though they may not be indispensably necessary.

The objection was, therefore, entirely untenable. It appears to have been suggested, under an honest conviction that a strict construction of the Constitution is essential to the preservation of the liberty of the citizens. It was supposed, that the assumption by the General Government of a power in any way questionable, was a step towards consolidation, and one that threatened the subversion of our free institutions. This view of the subject is continually pressed upon the public mind, no doubt with good intentions, but with very injurious effects. The impression made by it has repeatedly been fatal to plans of acknowledged utility; and has produced at times an almost feverish excitement in particular sections of the country, as, for example, at present in South Carolina. It seems to us to

involve an important error, the nature of which we shall attempt very briefly to indicate.

The General Government is, undoubtedly, a Government of limited powers, which are distinctly defined in the Constitution, and it is highly proper and expedient, that the various departments of the Government should keep themselves strictly within the line of their respective authorities, according to a fair and natural construction of the terms of the instrument. But we hold it to be quite apparent, that no assumption by the General Government of powers not granted by the Constitution, can be in any way dangerous to the liberty of the citizens or to the preservation of our institutions, for the plain reason, that the only powers of which the use or abuse can ever be dangerous to liberty, are directly and specifically granted. These are the powers of levying taxes, raising armies, and carrying on war. The purse and the sword are the only instruments that are wanted or can ever be employed for the accomplishment of any ambitious purpose. Having abandoned these to the discretion of the General Government, with what propriety can we apprehend danger from the exercise by that Government of the power of founding a University,—establishing a bank,—laying out a road, or building a bridge? This would be about as reasonable, as if a lady, who had granted to one of her admirers the name and essential privileges of a husband, should afterwards consider it hazardous, on the score of delicacy, to accompany him on a journey, or take his arm in a public walk. Did Cæsar, Cromwell, or Bonaparte, subvert the institutions of their respective countries by establishing banks or laying out roads? We have no desire that these or any other powers should be exercised by the General Government, unless they are deducible from the Constitution by a fair and natural construction of its terms; but we say, that whether they are, or are not exercised by the Government, is a matter of perfect indifference to the liberty of the people. The abuse of powers acknowledged to be granted, and not the assumption of such as are doubtful, is the real source of danger. The clamor, which is occasionally raised about the encroachments of the Federal Government, too often serves, if it be not intended, to divert the public attention from the real existing evil of *mal-administration*. The truth is, that the Constitution gives, and was designed to give to the General Government, all the ordinary political powers that are not

inconsistent with the form of a Republic. It gives, in the first place in terms, the great substantial powers, which may be said to compose the essence of all government, and which are those of laying taxes, carrying on war, administering justice, and making appointments; and then, after specifying various others of less importance, it finally gives the power of making all laws necessary and proper for carrying those powers into effect. It is difficult to conceive of any measure in itself expedient, and not prohibited by express restrictions, that may not constitutionally be adopted under these extensive grants; and it is,—we repeat,—by the abuse of these powers, and not by the assumption of new ones, that we shall finally, if ever, be deprived of our liberties. A single injudicious war tries the institutions of this, or any other country, more than they would be tried by the exercise of all the powers that have ever been objected to as doubtful for a thousand years. We have been led to make these remarks, because we think it important, that the people should distinctly perceive where the danger really lies, and not be induced by false alarms,—whether spread by the ignorance of friends or the arts of secret foes,—to bestow their attention on matters of minor consequence, while they leave the posts that require defence at the mercy of the enemy. But without dwelling any longer on this subject, which, however, would admit of a much fuller developement, we proceed to resume the course of our narration.

In the first Message which President Monroe transmitted to Congress at the opening of the session of 1817–18, he stated, as we have remarked above, that the General Government did not possess the power of making internal improvements. In the March following, Mr. Clay moved in the House of Representatives a resolution, declaring that the General Government has power under the Constitution to appropriate money for the construction of post-roads, military roads, and canals. The two opinions were thus fairly put in issue before the great council of the nation, and the subject was debated for several days with a zeal and perseverance proportioned to its real or supposed importance. Mr. Clay finally carried his motion by a majority of ninety to seventy-five, and from that time forwards, the question may be considered as having been settled. The friends of Internal Improvement proceeded for several years, in the face of a strong opposition, to carry their principles

into practical effect, and particularly to lay out and complete the great Cumberland road. Mr. Clay was the moving spirit in all these measures, and is fairly entitled to the credit, whatever it may be, of their adoption and success. On the 16th of January, 1824, just before the close of Mr. Monroe's administration, and his own entrance into the department of State, he made his last speech in Congress upon this subject, and immediately on a bill authorizing the President to effect certain surveys and estimates for roads and canals. On this occasion, Mr. Monroe brought forward, in a long and elaborate Message, the singular doctrine alluded to above, that the General Government has the power of appropriating money for internal improvements, but not of expending the money so appropriated, which can only be laid out under the direction of the States. It is needless to point out the palpable errors and inconsistencies of this theory, which was triumphantly refuted by Mr. Clay, and which made no impression on the House or the people. Under the late administration, of which Mr. Clay was a prominent member, the system of Internal Improvement obtained, for the first time, the advantage of an Executive sanction, which with some vacillations, attributable to mere party manœuvring, has been continued to it under the present administration, so that it may now be regarded as the settled policy of the country. As a proof of the high estimation in which the efforts of its great champion are held in the West, it may be mentioned, that a large and beautiful monument of stone has been erected on the Cumberland road, surmounted by a figure representing the Genius of Liberty, and inscribed with the name of Henry Clay.

If the objection of a want of constitutional power were not tenable in its application to the making of internal improvements,—where it has a shadow of plausibility,—it was obviously still less so in its application to the other great branch of the American System, commonly called the Protecting Policy, where even this shadow is altogether wanting. The policy had in fact been avowed and acted on by every administration, for a period of thirty years after the commencement of the Government, before it was even questioned,—a length of time sufficient, as we remarked above, to give it the authority of prescription, if there is ever to be any thing settled in our political practice. The objection, though now insisted on to the exclusion of every other by the opponents of this policy, was taken for the first

time by Mr. P. P. Barbour, of Virginia, at the close of the debate in the House of Representatives, on the tariff of 1824, and does not appear to have been considered at that time as a leading point in the argument. As the force of all other objections founded in considerations of expediency, has been destroyed by the experience of the advantages accruing from domestic manufactures, this has gradually come to be regarded by their opponents as the principal one, and has at last, by being viewed under a strong excitement, been so much magnified, that the pretended encroachments of the Federal Government in this particular, are represented by a pretty numerous party in one of the States as a sufficient justification for open resistance. The futility of the objection may be made apparent in a very few words. The power of laying taxes is not incidental, or inferred by implication from any of the general clauses, but specifically given by the Constitution. The exercise of it from improper motives, or for improper purposes, is therefore not the assumption of a power not given by the Constitution, but the abuse of one that is given. Instead of being the 'deliberate, palpable, and dangerous exercise of powers not granted by the compact,' which, in the language of the Virginia resolutions, would justify a resort to *nullification*, it is an exercise of the first named, and one of the most important of the powers specifically granted by the compact.

It is said, indeed, that the purposes for which taxes are to be laid, are specified in the Constitution; that the protection of domestic industry is not among the number, and that duties imposed with that view, though in form constitutional, are therefore inconsistent with the spirit of the national compact. Those who make such remarks apparently forget, that the objection of a want of constitutional power is in its nature wholly formal, like a plea to the jurisdiction in a court of law. The moment they admit that the protecting policy is consistent with the form of the Constitution, they waive the objection of a want of constitutional power, and place the question on its proper ground of expediency,—has the power of laying taxes, which is given by the Constitution, been rightfully exercised, or has it been abused? But independently of this consideration, let us look at the limits supposed to be set to the power of laying taxes, by the language of the Constitution. 'Congress shall have the power to lay and collect taxes for the purpose of paying the public debts, and *providing for the common defence and general*

welfare.' To decide what measures will promote the general welfare, is left entirely to the discretion of the Government. Is it possible to conceive of a grant of power more complete and unlimited? Here is no construction,—no implication. The plain letter of the Constitution gives to the General Government the right of laying taxes for any purpose which they may deem expedient for the promotion of the general welfare. How, then, is it possible, for gentlemen, with their eyes open, and the Constitution before them, to raise the suggestion of a want of constitutional power to impose taxes for the promotion of domestic industry? If, as they say, the protection of domestic industry does not serve to promote the general welfare, Congress, in imposing duties for this purpose, have made an improper exercise of the discretion committed to them by the Constitution. What is the remedy? The same that is provided against the effects of the improper exercise of any constitutional power,—of an unjust war,—a ruinous treaty,—an unprincipled proscription of faithful public servants. The remedies are the ballot-box,—impeachment,—and, if the urgency of the case require a resort to it,—rebellion.

The objection of a want of constitutional power, has not, therefore, in its application to the protecting policy, the slightest appearance of plausibility. It is even admitted, that it could not be sustained in a court of law. Is it not wonderful, then, that gentlemen of distinguished talent, should be found, on the occasion of the exercise by the General Government, of a power specifically granted by the letter of the Constitution, recommending a course, which,—on their own theory,—is only to be resorted to, in the case of '*a deliberate, palpable, and dangerous exercise of powers not granted by the compact?*' Why not rather say at once, that the case is one of so flagrant an *abuse of power*, as to justify the citizens, who are aggrieved by it, in open resistance? This is what is really meant. This assertion, however groundless in fact, would at least be couched in plain, manly, intelligible language. But then avowed resistance, if unsuccessful, brings upon those who are engaged in it, certain awkward consequences, which we need not here specify, and which the nullifiers would willingly avoid. Like Macbeth in the play, they '*would not play false, and yet would wrongly win.*' The object, in short, seems to be to invent a new kind of rebellion, which, if successful, will redress their supposed grievances; if unsuccessful, will permit them to

sleep quietly in their beds as before. This was not the conduct nor the language of their noble progenitors of 1776, from whom they seem to have degenerated as much in manly firmness, as they have in patriotism, good sense, and a correct understanding of the principles of natural and constitutional liberty.

So much for the objection to the protecting policy now so loudly insisted on, which is founded in the supposed want of constitutional powers in Congress. That of inexpediency, though latterly almost abandoned, and in itself far from being very plausible, is yet, in our opinion, somewhat more so than the other, and may perhaps be thought to deserve on this occasion a passing notice. We are told then on the one hand, that it is inexpedient to endeavor to protect and encourage manufactures, because manufactures are themselves unnecessary. It is of no importance whether the cultivator sells his products abroad or at home, provided he get a good price for them. On the other hand we are told, that if manufactures be,—as is affirmed,—really a profitable and useful employment of labor and capital, they do not need protection and encouragement, because individual capitalists will engage in them with a view to their own interests. Every establishment that is really useful to the community, must, and will exist, by the mere force of circumstances, and without any aid or intervention of Government. To one or the other of these propositions, may be reduced, we believe, all that has been said in the way of objection to the protecting policy, on the score of inexpediency.

The fallacy of both these is easily shown. As to the former, let us imagine two bordering States of the same extent, fertility and of course capacity for supporting population. Let us suppose them to be both agricultural communities, but that one is devoted exclusively to agriculture, while the other contains the manufactures which supply the demand of both; and let us further suppose, that there exists between them a perfect and unshackled freedom of intercourse, unembarrassed by the smallest duty. What would be the consequence? The cultivators of both these States, after consuming themselves such of their products as they had occasion for, would send the surplus to the manufacturing State. Suppose, for argument's sake, that this surplus is one third of the whole produce, and how would the account stand? The manufacturing community

would consume two thirds of the whole produce of both, while the exclusively agricultural community would consume only one. Their respective degrees of population and wealth would be of course in the same proportion; that is, the exclusively agricultural State, with a territory of equal extent and fertility, and of course with an equal capacity for supporting population and acquiring political power, would possess just one half of the population, wealth, and political power belonging to its more sagacious neighbor. What, again, would be the further consequence? The exclusively agricultural community would be politically at the mercy of the other; and in the course of events would naturally be conquered by it, and become its appendage. And yet the cultivators in both, through all the stages of their progress, sell their produce at the same price. The respective situations of these two supposed communities, are in fact very nearly those of Great Britain and Ireland. These two islands are nearly equal in geographical extent and fertility of soil; but the former has a population about twice as large as that of the latter, a superiority in wealth still more decisive, and so complete a preponderance of political power, that for several centuries past, Ireland has been no better than a conquered province. The only reason, that can be assigned for these differences, is the greater extent to which the resources of Great Britain have been developed by an assiduous cultivation of all the various departments of art and science.

So much for the proposition, that it is of no importance to the community whether the cultivator sell his produce abroad or at home, provided he get a good price for it. The other is,—as we have stated it above,—the ancient *let-me-alone* doctrine of the French merchants. If manufactures be really a profitable and useful employment of capital, they do not require protection, because individuals will engage in them with a view to their own interests. Every citizen, if left to take his course, will do better for himself than the Government can do for him. The answer to this objection is now as familiar as the objection itself. The individual will, no doubt, manage his own concerns better than the Government can manage them for him, and under any given circumstances, will in general make the best possible investment of his property. But he can only look to his own interest, and cannot consult the good of the community any farther than it is necessarily implied in his own. The

object of Government, on the other hand, in making laws on economical subjects, is to enable the individual, with equal profit to himself, to invest his capital in a manner more beneficial to the community than he otherwise would. The result of the principle contended for, if carried out fully into practice, would be to abolish entirely all government and all society, and to place men in a state of individual independence, which has sometimes, though very improperly, been called a state of nature, but which, in fact, never did and never can exist any where in practice. Man is by nature a social as well as an individual being. There is no part of the conduct of individuals which it is not the right and the duty of society, to a certain extent, to control and regulate; and so far are their economical concerns from forming an exception to this remark, that they are precisely those which constitute every where the leading object of legislation. The principle contended for is, therefore, false in itself, and even as far as it is true, is wholly inapplicable in practice. It may be admitted, that capital and labor, if left to themselves, will in general take the direction, best fitted, under the circumstances of the case, to promote the interest of the individual; but this is one of those barren generalities which are of no use in practice, for the obvious reason, that capital and labor never are, or can be left to themselves, the direction they are to take being continually disturbed by a thousand accidental causes. The history of the world, past, present and to come, always has been, is, and always will be, made up of a series of political changes, more or less violent in their character; of which the less important exercise a decisive influence on the course of individual industry, and the more important change it altogether. In the midst of this chaos of conflicting elements, the Government of the United States are called upon to legislate, as if this country were alone in the world, and as if the course of individual industry would always find its natural level. It is also true in physical science, that water has a tendency to find its level; but what should we think of a ship-master, who, on the strength of this truism, should affirm that the surface of the ocean is in fact always smooth, that the mountainous waves, which at times appear to cover it, are optical illusions, and that the true art of seamanship is to carry full sail in all weathers, blow high or low? He would of course be considered a madman. Yet such is exactly the principle of legislation recommended by the

opponents of the protecting policy to the Government of the United States. Nor is there the slightest foundation for the suggestion, that protecting duties are a tax upon the other classes of the community for the benefit of manufacturers. It is well known to all who have learned the elements of political economy, that all taxes, in whatever form imposed, operate equally upon every description of labor, and that no tax can be laid,—with whatever intention,—which shall press more heavily upon any one portion of the community than it does upon all the rest. The object of the protecting duties is to promote the general good, by enabling capitalists to invest their capital with safety in a branch of industry, which it is of the highest public importance that we should have at home. To the capitalist himself, it is a matter of entire indifference, whether his capital is employed in one way or another. He can never obtain from it, in any employment, any thing more than the average returns, which are the same in all. When, however, on the faith, and under the encouragement of legislative protection, he has in fact invested his capital in a particular branch of industry, the community are bound by the most solemn obligations, not to make this employment of it unproductive by unnecessary and capricious changes of policy.

Such is the outline of the argument upon this great question. It had been discussed in the Senate of the United States before the war, when the bill was brought in for providing ammunition and public stores; and on that occasion, Mr. Clay, as we have said above, made his first speech in Congress. The return of peace, the stagnation of foreign trade that naturally attended it, and the destruction of our infant manufactures, which had been rapidly growing up during the preceding periods of commercial restriction and war, clearly indicated the insufficiency of the protection heretofore given to domestic industry, and the absolute necessity of proceeding still farther in the same line of policy which had been marked out, at the commencement of the Government, by Washington and Hamilton, and practised upon, ever since, to a greater or less extent, by all their successors. Through the whole progress of this great work, Mr. Clay again stood forward, as the open, fearless, persevering, uncompromising champion of the cause of the country. In the earlier period, his efforts were at times partially, and even for the moment, wholly unsuccessful. In 1816, the duty on woollens, which he had succeeded in obtain-

ing in Committee of the Whole, when it came to the House, where he could not speak, was reduced. In 1819–20, the whole bill, which, with incredible exertions, he had carried through the House, was rejected in the Senate. In 1824, the struggle was renewed under better auspices, and ended in the complete triumph of the American System. On that occasion, Mr. Webster was among the principal opponents of the protecting policy in the House of Representatives. He seems, in his argument against it, to have relied chiefly upon the example of liberality, which had recently been set by Great Britain in the adoption of the Huskisson policy, without, perhaps, having sufficiently remarked,—what has since been avowed by the authors of that policy,—that their liberality extended, and was meant to extend, no further than it was consistent with a complete protection of domestic industry, in all its branches, against foreign competition. In the year 1828, this question once more came before Congress, and this time with an earnest recommendation of the policy of protection by the Executive department of the Government. Mr. Clay was no longer in Congress, but such had been the advance of public opinion since the subject was last discussed, that his absence was not felt. Notwithstanding the unwearied attempts of a violent opposition, to embarrass the measure by every means in their power, and among others, by the insertion of provisions, which they disapproved themselves, in the hope of making the whole bill unpopular in particular sections, it was carried in both Houses by handsome majorities. The geographical character of the two parties upon this subject, had,—as we have already remarked,—materially changed in the course of the discussions. The New-England capitalists, on the faith and under the encouragement of legislative protection, had made large investments in manufactures, and experience had already shown, that the prosperity of this part of the country depends exclusively upon the progress of this branch of industry. It was found, accordingly, that the Representatives from New-England,—who, on former occasions, had generally opposed the protecting policy,—were now, almost unanimously, in favor of it. Mr. Webster, in particular, now supported the bill in the Senate. On the other hand, the Representatives of the South,—who were the original advocates of the protecting policy,—partly from their habitual jealousy of the North, and partly from a mistaken apprehension that the foreign market

for their staple productions would be injured by the growth of manufactures at home, now opposed the system with a sort of passion; and at length, after exhausting in vain every other argument against it, discovered at the close of some of the last discussions, that it was unconstitutional. This opposition has been renewed, with greater or less vigor, at each subsequent session of Congress, in attempts to obtain the repeal or reduction of the protecting duties, and will probably be continued for some time to come. In the course of the debates to which these attempts have led, the Southern members have broached, upon the floor of Congress, the wildest novelties in political economy,—some of which have been adverted to in former numbers of this journal,—and have not scrupled to affirm, that if the Government did not, without a moment's reflection, adopt these chimerical fancies, as the basis of a complete reform in the economical legislation of the country, the citizens who deemed themselves aggrieved by the existing system, would be justified in open rebellion;—for such, as we have seen, is the real sense of the newfangled and barbarous term, *nullification*. An opposition, so violent and unreasonable as this, may be expected to exhaust itself pretty soon,—if it have not done so already,—by its own efforts. The protecting policy is fitted to promote all the great interests of the country, agricultural and commercial, as well as manufacturing, and including,—whatever they may think of it,—that of the Southern planters, whose market is obviously extended, instead of being contracted, by the growth of home manufactures. It must of course, in the end, receive the support of all these interests, as it now does of by far the greater proportion of them, and be unanimously recognised as the true policy of the country.

We have dwelt more particularly upon those parts of the American System, which dictate the expediency of opening communications by roads and canals between the different sections of the country, and of affording a legislative protection to home manufactures, because they are those to which the public attention has been, and is more particularly directed, and which are naturally the first in the order of practical application. The material wants of society, though inferior in essential importance, claim the precedence over those which belong to our moral nature, because the satisfaction of the former is an essential preliminary to that of the latter. But we should do injustice to the lofty and patriotic views of the Father of the

American System, and of those who before and since he stood forth as the champion of this great cause, have labored in support of it with more or less efficiency, if we supposed that the only object of it is to naturalize among us the production of the material comforts of life, and that the only questions connected with it, are whether the General Government have or have not a right to lay out roads and canals, and to impose duties for the protection of domestic industry. The scope and aim of this system are far more large and noble. Its leading principle is the developement of all the resources of the country, political, intellectual and moral, as well as economical. The means by which it proposes to accomplish its object, is the concurrent action of every member of the body politic, in all the various capacities in which he is called upon to exercise influence,—whether through the medium of the General, State, or Municipal Governments,—of voluntary associations for whatever end, or finally within the limited circle of his own personal concerns. A new world of boundless extent and unrivalled natural advantages, capable of maintaining a population of hundreds of millions, spreads its broad bosom before us. This is our inheritance, and with it the noble birth-right of liberty. That single attribute of our nature, by which we claim some distant resemblance to the Divinity, and rise above the control of every earthly power, except the inborn moral law of our own hearts, is here unrepressed by the vicious political institutions that have trammelled and fettered it in every other part of the world. With these unparalleled natural advantages,—with these munificent gifts of Providence at our disposal,—shall we be content to gaze forever in stupid admiration on the products of skill and science that are brought to us from other countries far less favorably situated? Shall we even, like the ignorant natives of our continent, allow foreigners to impose upon us,—as they too often do,—their glittering and worthless trinkets for the real jewels of art and science? The ultimate objects to which our efforts should be directed are, after all, the developement and freedom of the mind. Are the thoughts, the opinions, the feelings that are generated in the impure atmosphere of Europe, fit to be the guides of life in this young, rising, and generous republic? Shall we drink in forever as our daily nutriment, the selfish, sordid, poisonous doctrines that have corrupted the whole literature of the old world, and are wafted to us in ship-loads

by every wind that blows from that quarter? Shall we practically confess, that we can do nothing more than produce the rude material,—the physical, unimproved man,—and that we must leave it to the superior capacities of enemies and rivals to put on the stamp and fashion,—to breathe in the spirit that gives understanding? Shall we, in short, with the name of national existence, be forever, in substance,—in all that relates to the higher departments of our nature,—the Colonies of Europe? If not, by what means can we accomplish our emancipation? Is it by eternally contending among ourselves about minute points of difference concerning the respective limits of the authorities of the General and State Governments, when the common objects for which both are to be exerted are substantially the same? Is it not rather by the vigorous, untiring, concurrent exertions of individuals, corporations, constituted bodies politic within their respective appropriate spheres? In the vast vineyard in which we labor, there is ample and honorable employment for all. There are numerous objects, which can only be effected by the direct agency of the Federal Government, and for the accomplishment of these the Federal Government has been clothed with all the necessary powers. But is there no room left for the activity of the States? We know what they can do by seeing what they have done. Is the Clinton Canal a less magnificent, by which we mean a less really useful achievement, than the Cumberland road? Instead of wasting their time, their labor, their talents, their best and highest feelings in the truly unprofitable attempt to *prevent* each other from concurring in the accomplishment of the common objects of all, let the respective friends of State Rights and of the Federal Constitution rather aid, encourage, and stimulate each other to do as much as possible, and the great work of Internal Improvement will then go on steadily, rapidly, harmoniously, to its final consummation in the complete intellectual, moral, economical, and political independence of the country.

These two important measures, or rather schemes of policy, —the foundation of our relations with the Spanish American States, and the establishment of the American System,—in both which, as we have seen, Mr. Clay took the lead,—must affect essentially and permanently the condition of this continent, and will recommend his name to the respect and gratitude of posterity. In other affairs of equal or even still supe-

rior temporary interest,—particularly in that of the admission of a portion of the territory of Missouri into the Union as a State,—his influence was equally conspicuous. Mr. Prentice has a very interesting chapter on this subject, of which we would gladly give an abstract; but the length to which this article has already extended, makes it necessary that we should hasten to a close; and we must content ourselves with referring the reader for information on this and several other curious topics to the work itself.

Having stood before the country for at least ten years as the acknowledged leader in the House of Representatives, and having served with success in other stations of the highest trust, it was not unnatural, that when Mr. Monroe retired from the Presidency, Mr. Clay should have been among the persons proposed as his successor. He was, however, still somewhat young to appear as a candidate for that office, and encountered of course the competition of other statesmen more advanced in age. The acknowledged talents and various accomplishments of Mr. Adams,—his long and faithful labors in the diplomatic service, terminated and crowned as they had been by his brilliant and successful negotiations at Ghent, which extorted at the time the reluctant admiration not only of hostile statesmen abroad, but of his bitterest and most rancorous personal enemies at home;—his able administration for eight years of the Department of State, signalized by the establishment of our relations with Spanish America, in regard to which he had acted in the Executive branch of the Government the same part which Mr. Clay had performed in Congress,—by the settlement of the Southern boundary and the acquisition of Florida;—his known generosity of spirit and inflexible uprightness of purpose;—gave him an almost irresistible claim to the suffrages of the people, which, in the minds of all good men, was strengthened by a grateful recollection of the revolutionary services of his venerated father. On the other hand, the glare of military success,—which always exercises so powerful an influence on the uninformed and unreflecting part of the community,—had invested the name of General Jackson with a good deal of popular favor. Of the qualifications which recommended Mr. Crawford as a candidate for this transcendent dignity, we are not particularly informed. After a very short career, in which he had exhibited no pre-eminence of talent, either as a Senator or a diplomatist, he had been placed in the

Treasury Department by Mr. Monroe, where he had done nothing more than to go through,—not always in the most accurate manner,—with the habitual and easy *routine* of the place. His personal pretensions were of course insignificant; but his political principles were understood to be of a *radical* cast, and this circumstance probably recommended him to certain managers as a person under whose auspices they might attempt, with some prospect of success, to wield the machinery of the old democratic party. Another Southern statesman of distinguished talent and elevated character, but much younger than even Mr. Clay, was exhibited for a moment as a candidate, but was almost immediately withdrawn by his friends. In this conflict of opposing claims,—each sustained by strong sectional interests,—it was of course impossible that a choice should be made by the people. The question, which of the four principal candidates should be brought before the House of Representatives, was naturally determined in part by accident; and it so happened that Mr. Clay,—whose personal pretensions were second only to those of Mr. Adams,—was not among the number. His great influence in the House of Representatives rendered him in a manner the arbiter between the three more successful competitors. The choice was, however, a very easy one. There could be no hesitation about the comparative qualifications of General Jackson and Mr. Adams for the Presidency of the United States; and had the case been different with respect to Mr. Crawford, (which it would not have been, in the mind of any competent judge,) the state of his health was such, as to put him entirely out of the question. The doctrine since contended for by some, that the House were bound to elect the individual who had the highest number of votes, is too absurd to require refutation. Mr. Clay decided, as every other person of common sense and common integrity would have done, under the same circumstances. His character and position in the country designated him as the only candidate for the Department of State, which was offered him by Mr. Adams, as it would have been by any President, and which he accepted. By force of management, a large proportion of the adherents of the three disappointed candidates were induced to unite in opposition to the new administration, which, at the next following election, —not much to the credit of the people of the United States

on the score of good sense,—they succeeded in overthrowing. Posterity will read the history of these transactions with the same sentiments with which we now read that of the ostracism of Aristides, or the disgrace of the Duke of Marlborough. In the course of the controversy that arose on this subject, the opposition presses,—with the usual recklessness of party animosity,—made no scruple of charging Mr. Clay with corruption. It was obvious to all, who were not completely blinded by passion and prejudice, that any other course than that which he took, would have afforded unequivocal evidence of corruption of the basest kind. The charge was of course not believed for a moment by any impartial man, and the complete and most satisfactory refutation of it which Mr. Clay condescended to furnish in several publications, was, for all such persons, entirely superfluous.

It is not our purpose, however, to enlarge on topics connected with the personal disputes of the day; and as the details of the administration by Mr. Clay of the Department of State are familiarly known to our readers, we shall here close this rapid survey of his political life. Whether it will be his fortune to end it in uninterrupted retirement, or to appear again upon the political theatre in a still higher character than any which he has yet sustained, is a question of small importance to himself, although, in our opinion, of much to the country. In the ordinary peaceful progress of events, which we may venture to hope will not be disturbed for many years to come, a President of the United States has but little opportunity of extending the reputation by which he has raised himself to that dignity. Mr. Clay has already recommended his name to the future historian as a leading actor in the most important political revolutions of the age,—as the founder of a new era in the economical policy of his own country. The honor of the Presidency,—eminent as it undoubtedly is,—can add nothing to such distinction. His name is one, of which the absence from our list of Presidents would be remarked in after times much more than its presence there; as the philosophic Roman historian observes of the statues of Brutus and Cassius, which one of the profligate emperors was afraid to produce in some procession, where he paraded those of most of the heroes and patriots of the Republic, that they were only the more conspicuous from not being seen. *Eo magis refulgebant, quod non videbantur.*

It may, perhaps, be expected, that we should offer before we close, some remarks upon the peculiar characteristics that distinguish Mr. Clay as a statesman and an orator; but we doubt whether much can be added in this way to the impression produced by a survey of his political career. The only test of eloquence is effect, and the talent of a statesman is best shown by an account of the principles he professes and the measures he recommends. It may be said, however, in general, that Mr. Clay is particularly remarkable, as a politician, for a large and comprehensive scope of mind. He looks at his subject from an elevated point,—takes in at one view all the various considerations that bear upon it, and is thus enabled to give to each its proper relative importance. This faculty is in him the more commendable, inasmuch as it is not the natural result of the professional pursuits to which a large part of his life has been devoted. The ordinary effect of long practice at the bar, is rather to encourage the habit of minute distinctions founded in a nice observation of details, which, though unimportant to the merits of a case, are sometimes decisive of its fate in a court of justice. It has, accordingly, often been remarked in England, that the most eminent lawyers have rarely sustained in Parliament the reputation which they had previously acquired at the bar; and it can hardly be doubted, that it is in consequence of the large number of gentlemen of this profession in Congress, that the regular course of business is so often interrupted by captious and quibbling debates upon questions of constitutional power. A large and comprehensive view of political affairs is also of necessity the only correct one. Setting aside the case of actual corruption, which occurs much less frequently than is commonly supposed, the ordinary source of error is a partial and limited view of the subject under consideration. Personal, local, sectional interests and feelings, absorb the attention and direct the conduct of men of narrow minds. It is only by rising above this limited sphere of vision, and looking exclusively to the general good of the whole, that we are able to discover, under any given circumstances, the true course of policy. This faculty has been,—as we have said,—exhibited in a remarkable manner by Mr. Clay. The eloquence by which he acquired so much influence over his contemporaries, and for a long time swayed in a manner at will the debates in the House of Representatives, is of a warm and

popular, rather than strictly argumentative cast. His published speeches, probably, do but little justice to it. Some of the best which he ever made,—as, for example, those upon the Missouri Question,—have never been reported; and of those that are reported at length, few, we believe, have been corrected by himself. Even when a speech is reported with care by the speaker himself, and supposing him, which is seldom the case, to be equally distinguished for written and oral eloquence, his work will after all afford a very faint notion of the means, which produced the mighty effect. Who can undertake to represent in written forms of words, the flashing eye,—the quivering lip,—the graceful gesture,—the rich, deep, impassioned tones that thrill with a sort of super-human power to the inmost recesses of the heart? These are, after all, the life and spirit of eloquence; the published speech is a mere skeleton. Those of Mr. Clay, however inadequately they may represent the spoken originals, will compare advantageously with the best specimens of this kind of composition. They have not the deep philosophy of Burke and Mackintosh, nor the high rhetorical finish of Canning; but belong rather to the school of natural and practical orators, which comprehends in England such men as Pitt, Fox, Castlereagh, and Burdett, and in this country almost all who have at any time obtained a reputation for eloquence. One of the most elaborate and substantial of Mr. Clay's reported speeches, is that upon the tariff of 1824. It is, in fact, a complete treatise upon the subject, and though the doctrine may not be in every part free from exception, presents, in the main, a masterly view of the true economical policy of the country. The work before us contains a number of extracts from this and the other speeches, selected in general with much judgment; but such fragments hardly give a better idea of the entire work, than the single brick in the Greek fable of the house from which it was taken, and of which it was to serve as a specimen. Rather than attempt to satisfy in this way the expectations that may have been raised in the minds of any of our readers by the present article, we would refer them for the only fair representation that can be conveyed in print,—and that a very imperfect one,—of the speeches of this accomplished orator, to the published collection, of which they will find some notice in a preceding number of this Journal.

ART. IV.—*Mount Auburn Cemetery.*

Report of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society upon the establishment of an Experimental Garden and Rural Cemetery. Boston. 1831.

There is no feeling in our nature stronger or more universal than that which insists upon respect for the dead. It is found in every age and nation. The savage shows a kindness and reverence to the dead, which he never pays the living; and enlightened man ranks it among the most sacred of his duties, to offer the last sacrifice of affection at the grave. If the belief prevailed now, as in ancient days, that the spirits of the unburied suffered for the neglect of their friends, this feeling might be more easily accounted for; but it does not seem to partake of superstition; it is rather sentiment, enlightened, just, and manly sentiment, influencing not only the intelligent, but many beside, who in general seem to be strangers to strong and delicate feeling. The light-hearted soldier, at the grave of his comrade, feels a heaviness which makes him a better man for the time; the rough seaman leans thoughtfully over the side of his vessel, till the waters which the plunge of the corpse has broken, are calm and unconscious again. At every village funeral, when the dead lies in the midst of the living, with a fixed and calm serenity on his brow,—with an unsearchable depth of meaning in his features, which no mortal eye may read,—if it be only a child perishing in the daybreak of its existence, whose loss will be as little felt in the world at large as the withering of a garden-flower,—still he is for the time invested with the commanding majesty of death; children join their hands and look timidly around them; old men lean upon their staves and ponder; though *among them*, he seems no longer *of them;* the air of gentle and firm reserve on his countenance gives the impression that he sees what we cannot see, hears what we cannot hear, and is already acquainted with those mysteries of the future, which the living desire and yet tremble to know.

Neither does this interest in the dead cease when they are hidden from our eyes. It follows them to the grave, and makes us regard as sacred the place where we have laid them. The burial-place is the retreat of the thoughtful; the shoes of care and passion are put off by those who enter the lonely ground.

It has a good effect upon the feelings; it makes the unfortunate more reconciled to this world, and the gay more thoughtful of another. The cold ghastliness of the sculptured marble,—the grey stone sinking, as if weary of bearing its unregarded legends of the ancient dead; the various inscriptions showing, sometimes, what the dead were, but still oftener what they ought to have been, subdue the heart to sadness, though not to gloom. And what a lion in the path is the public feeling, to all who would disturb the repose of the tomb! It is easier to rifle the mansion of the living, than the narrow house of the dead; for the living can protect themselves, and therefore are less regarded, while the whole moral force of a wide region is at once in arms to resent an insult offered to the dead. This feeling may be excessive,—perhaps it is,—but no one can deny that it is energetic and strong. We do not condemn nor defend it; but the thirsty vengeance with which it pursues offenders, shows how deep is the reverence of the living for the dead.

One reason why the home of the dead is thus sacred, is, that this is the place where we lose them. Up to this place we follow them through the changes of life and death; but at the gates of the tomb, they are taken and we are left. We are forcibly driven back, and the mind loses itself in earnest conjectures respecting their destiny,—what it may be, now it is thus widely separated from ours. The most striking view we ever saw of the great cataract of our country, represented simply the waters above, and the long line where they lean to dash below; the rest was left to the imagination, which made out for itself a more profound impression of the grandeur of the scene, than representation or description by measure could possibly have given. Thus it is with the surface of the ground where the dead are laid; hitherto we come, but no further; we see not how nor where they are gone; this is the boundary, beyond which the living cannot go nor the dead return; and it arrests and chains the imagination, like the place in the ocean where some gallant wreck went down.

This will account for the universal interest which the cities of the dead inspire; but not for all the tenderness with which the dead are regarded. This is owing to what Adam Smith calls our sympathy with the dead. Where and what they are now we do not know; we therefore still represent them to our minds with feelings like our own. It seems to us as if they

must be conscious when the light step of affection moves above, as if the stranger, rudely trampling above them, might disturb their profound repose. We are glad when we see a sunbeam on the green roof of their narrow mansion, as if it could light up the darkness below; and if we see a tree or a flower planted above them, we feel as if they must revive and rejoice in the pledge that their memory is still treasured by some who loved them. We feel bound to remember them, as we would wish ourselves to be remembered, after we have gone in that narrow way where there are no traces of returning feet.

Allow that all this is imagination. Still it is universal; it must and will be regarded. The man will lose the respect of the living, who does not venerate the dead. However much we disdain these feelings and fancies of our nature, we must submit to them, or the great verdict of mankind will be against us. If a stranger enter a village, he judges the character of its inhabitants by the aspect of their burial-ground; and if he see a place abandoned to decay, surrounded by a coarse enclosure of decaying materials,—a place where nature throws her verdure and flowers luxuriantly, as if upbraiding the cold neglect of man,—his most natural feeling is contempt for the living, and compassion for the dead. So too in our cities, where we see the place of death upon the busy street, where the sounds of life are brought into rude contrast with the silence of the grave, where towering mansions overlook the field, as if waiting impatiently for the elements to waste the marble of the tombs, that they may usurp the inheritance of the dead, it gives us a double feeling of regret, that the founders of the city had not foreseen it, and that the present inhabitants do not bring trees and flowers to take away the desolation of the spot, while they resolve to place the dead in future beyond the possible reach of violation.

It is interesting to observe the effect of this reverence for the dead in different ages of the world. How many mansions of death remain, when ancient houses of the living are gone! The tombs of Hadrian and Metella have outlasted the palaces of the Cæsars; the Egyptian tomb of the kings remains perfect, when the pyramids are nameless ruins. Even in this country, the moss-grown stone outlasts the most durable habitations of our fathers. It would seem as if man desired to re-assure himself, in the presence of death, that he is not all frailty, by raising monuments, which long after he is gone, may resist the waste

of time. Generally, the place selected for the repose of the dead has been chosen, in consistency with the sympathy of which we have spoken; in places lonely, but not deserted, where the beauty of nature is heightened by the care of man, where the gloom of death cannot sadden the hearts of the living, nor the labor of life stand in too close contrast to the stillness of the dead.

We find in the earliest authentic history of the human race, that Abraham, when Sarah died, buried her in a place of this description. There is a beautiful simplicity in the account of his intercourse with the children of Heth on this occasion. In their respect for his excellence and greatness, they besought him to take any of their sepulchres, but he declined the proposal. When he had signified what spot of ground he desired to have, the owner entreated him to accept it as a gift; but this also he declined; and the proprietor consented to accept four hundred pieces of silver for the field, and all *the trees that were within its limits and on its borders.* This circumstance, thought worthy of being noticed in a history so general, shows that he had some regard to the beauty of the place; and with a similar taste, groves and gardens seem to have been chosen as the burial-places of all the Hebrews, who were rich enough to possess them. When Jacob was dying in Egypt, he could not bear the thought of being committed to the earth in the distance and solitude of a foreign land, and he charged his children to secure to him the privilege of sleeping with his fathers. Joseph, when dying, exacted a similar promise from his children. Doubtless, this earnestness was in part inspired by associations connected with the place of death.

It is not improbable that the Israelites learned this reverence for the dead in Egypt, which Abraham had visited in his earlier days. It is certain that they borrowed the practice of embalming, in which the Egyptians excelled all other nations. This singular practice, doubtless, originated in a desire to preserve the features of the departed for the satisfaction of their descendants, and may have been serviceable in keeping up the memory and example of virtue. It is said, that the mummies were sometimes introduced at their festivals. Doubtless the bodily presence of those who were distinguished in their day, must have exerted a powerful influence on those who saw them; but the thought of death must be presented in such a manner as makes it welcome; if it come when unbidden or

unsuited to the place and time, it does more injury than good. And this is a reason for placing the tomb in the midst of the beauty and luxuriance of nature, from which the soul is always ready to look to the grand and solemn vision of death. The great Egyptian Cemetery was in a place of this description. It was on the farther shore of the lake Acherusia, near Memphis, ornamented with trees and water-courses, and answering to the Elysian fields of later times. On the nearer side of the lake was assembled the celebrated court, which sat in judgment on the dead. The more wealthy Egyptians sacrificed this true taste for nature to their ambition of splendor; their mummies were gathered in catacombs, whence, after an immortality of three thousand years, they are stolen as curiosities or plundered of their aromatic gums. The tomb of the kings, discovered by Belzoni, abounded in magnificence, and the plastering on its walls was so fresh and brilliant, that his richest colors were pale beside them. The pyramids do not seem to have been intended exclusively, if at all, as monuments of the dead. When Belzoni opened the second, bones were found in a *sarcophagus* in the central chamber, which turned out to be those of a sacred animal, and not of man.

What importance was attached to the rites of sepulture among the Hebrews, appears from the well known vision, in which Isaiah described the downfall of the Assyrian king; prophesying, how he should sink in all his glory beneath the mightier arm of death. The prophet represents the whole earth as rejoicing in his overthrow, and saying, with its thousand voices, 'How hath the oppressor fallen! the golden city fallen! The fir-trees, (which were the chiefs of Israel,) rejoice, saying, now thou art cut down, no destroyer will come up against us.' And where is he, whose ruin causes all this exultation? His corpse is cast out by the way-side, and thus visited with the deepest dishonor; there, way-farers find him, and triumph over him, as he lies helpless before them. They gaze earnestly upon him, saying, 'Is this the man that made the earth tremble; that did shake kingdoms; that made the world a wilderness?' They taunt him with his being thus cast out by the way-side like an accursed thing, and compare him with those whose remains enjoy the honors of the tomb. 'The kings of the earth,' they say, 'lie in glory, every one with his sword under his head; but thou art cast out from the grave, because thou hast destroyed thy land and slain thy people.'

And when, in the continued vision, he arrives at the entrance of the vast cavern, in which the embalmed remains of his royal race were laid, the whole realm of death rises up to meet him; chiefs and kings break the slumber of years; they bend their stern brows on their degenerate son, the last and most unworthy of their mighty line, and say, in anger and scorn, 'Art thou become weak as we? art thou become like unto us? How art thou fallen from Heaven, bright morning-star!' That the Assyrian oppressor should be thus deprived of funeral honors, is described as the last vengeance of the Almighty. 'The worm is spread under thee, and the worms cover thee.' The whole vision shows in an impressive manner, what a reproach and misfortune it was then considered, to lose the shelter of the grave.

There is no doubt, then, of the importance attached by the Hebrews to the burial of the dead; and this, as well as their patriotism, is a feeling which stands out in contrast to their usual hardness. In fact, the grave, in all countries and times, is the place where the best feelings are awakened; the conflicts of passion cease there, and all other feelings are lost in sympathy and concern for those who sleep within its narrow bounds. Before Christianity came, it was all the world had to remind them, that all must be equal at last, and that the rich must come from his palace and the poor from his labor, to sleep side by side in death. And to their honor be it said, they welcomed the thought, and took pleasure in being reminded of their duties.

But while all ancient nations united in doing the utmost honor to the departed, there was no uniformity in the selection of their places of rest. Among the Hebrews, the sepulchre was sometimes, like our Saviour's, in a garden; sometimes under a tree, and sometimes hewn from the sides of the rock. They were as various as the wealth and the ambition of the people; but it seems clear, that where the ground would not admit of cultivation, they kept up a simple and expressive custom of strewing the grave with flowers. The Greeks and Romans, likewise, buried their dead in groves and gardens, sometimes by the borders of the public roads, where their names might be often brought to the remembrance of those who passed by. The Athenian Ceramicus, the cemetery which received those who had lived or died in the service of their country, was ornamented in such a manner as to make it a pleasant resort for all who wished to borrow inspiration to noble deeds. In the

registry of all antiquity, we find the same evidence of the fact, that death carried with it a title of respect; the king of terrors imparted something of his own majesty to all the victims of his power. The grave was the place where the living looked their last upon the dead; and to surround it with proofs of the interest with which it inspired them, was thought the least that affection or esteem could do.

On one point, the testimony of the ancient world seems to have been unanimous and decided; we mean as to the propriety of removing the dead from the immediate vicinity of the living; not that they apprehended injurious effects upon the health of their cities; but guided by sentiment and propriety alone, they agreed in the necessity of this separation. The rule seems to have been generally observed, except in case of those whose wealth and vanity enabled them to break through it, or of public men, who were thought to have earned a right to sleep in the midst of the city for which they had shed their blood. Burying in churches is an invention of comparatively modern times. Constantine is said to have been the first, who ordered his sepulchre to be erected within the consecrated walls, and the superstition which attended the imperfect Christianity of the earlier ages, led others to follow his example; the church being regarded as a fortress, whose spiritual defences would keep off the evil spirits, which were always striving to break the rest of the dead. We cannot speak confidently with respect to the danger to health which arises from such practices. It has probably been over-rated, if, indeed, it exist at all. But, apart from this, there are reasons of a different character, why the dead should be removed from the intrusive and engrossing neighborhood of the living, where their memory is sure to perish, and their remains, after being allowed to rest so long as friends can remember and defend them, are at last trampled under feet.

We know there are those, who say it is of little importance where dust returns to dust; who say they care not what becomes of the body, when the soul has left it. But this philosophic contempt of such things is not a natural feeling. The least thing associated with the remembrance of a departed friend, is consecrated in every good mind; and whoever treats such memorials with indifference, however he may boast his own freedom from prejudice, shocks the moral sense of mankind. If there are some, who reason themselves into indifference, with

many these thoughts are full of power. We know that Christianity has exalted the claims of the mind, and taught its disciples to deem lightly of the suffering and even the destruction of the body, compared with the welfare of the immortal part. But religion is never at war with nature; and the same religion, which requires the sacrifice of every thing at the call of duty, allows the fullest indulgence to every natural and innocent feeling.

There are examples in modern history, which show how important it is to guard and respect the quiet of the grave. It was an evil hour for the Stuarts, when their unmanly vengeance cast out Cromwell, Ireton and Bradshaw from their tombs; it turned the moral feeling of the world against them. And we doubt not that much of the interest which still attaches to the name of Napoleon, is owing to the circumstance of his lonely sepulchre in the heart of the seas, as if his remains were banished from the presence of men. Far better would it have been to let him rest in *Père-la-Chaise*, where the enthusiasm of his adorers could spend itself upon his grave. In his character, there was very little to admire or love; but his imprisonment on a rock in the ocean had made many feel for him as an exile, who cared nothing for his glory. They feel, too, as if the dead who can offend no longer, might be permitted to sleep in the land which is still covered with the blaze of his renown. Such, if we may depend on an ancient history, was the judgment of Louis XI., by no means the worthiest of the kings of France. No one can believe that he was influenced by any generous feeling; but when he was solicited to deface the monument of Bedford, the great Regent of France, he indignantly refused. 'What honor will it be to me,' said he, 'to deface the sepulchre of a man, whom my fathers could not prevail against while he lived; a man, whose wit and valor shame the proudest of us all? I rather say, May God have mercy on his soul!' This accomplished hypocrite had wisdom enough to know, that policy and his own interest, setting aside generosity, required of him to respect the dead.

The Report which has led us into these reflections, is signed by the President of the Horticultural Society, and it could not appear under better auspices; this gentleman, and those associated with him, having secured the respect of many in every part of our community, by their liberality in giving all kinds of aid to those, whose pursuits are similar to their own.

Their object is a very important one; it is to teach those who have wealth and leisure, how they may make themselves happy not only without injuring others, but with direct benefit to their fellow-men; to show them that in order to secure enjoyment for themselves, there is no need of inventing new pleasures; that they have only to learn to value those which are always under their eye; and that Nature,—'this beautiful visible world,'—opens a never-failing paradise to those who are content to be innocent and well employed. The plan proposed to the community in this Report, comes naturally within the sphere of their liberal exertions. The design is, to teach the community to pay more respect to the dead. In this particular we are certainly behind other countries. In most nations of Europe there are at least a few public cemeteries, which a stranger can visit without feeling that the dead are neglected. We are told in the Report, that the Turks, half savage as they are, have long made it a practice to plant evergreens in their place of tombs. The modern cities of Europe have begun to feel, that it is not well that infidels should triumph over them in this respect. *Père-la-Chaise* in Paris is now celebrated throughout the world. The impression which it makes on the mind of every traveller, is the best proof of the good taste which designed it. The larger cities of England are beginning to follow this good example. In our country, New-Haven has the merit of making the first approach to this kind of improvement; but the example was not followed. The burying-place continues to be the most neglected spot in all the region, distinguished from other fields only by its leaning stones and the meanness of its enclosure, without a tree or shrub to take from it the air of utter desolation. We cannot but hope that the cemetery about to be established will put our cities and villages to shame, and spread a better taste and feeling in this respect throughout the whole country.

The place selected for the cemetery is Mount Auburn, in Cambridge, about three miles from Boston, and easily approached either by the road or the river which washes its borders. It affords every variety of soil and elevation, which trees or flowers would require, with streams and meadows, from which ponds may be made for plants which love the water. The plants of every climate may find there a suitable home. It might be thought that it would require many years to cover it with verdure; but Nature has anticipated this objec-

tion; it being already clothed with trees and shrubs of almost all descriptions, which grow in this part of the country. The most striking part of this tract is a conical hill of considerable height, which commands an extensive and beautiful prospect. This is reached by a gentle ascent, which winds like a road round the hill, with valleys on each side, and is so exact in its bearing, that it is difficult to persuade one's-self that man had no agency in forming it. The top of the height is an admirable place for a monument intended to be seen at a distance, and the sides will afford room for the resting-place of many generations. The whole country would not afford a better spot for the purpose than this. It is consecrated already by many delightful associations in the memory of most of those, who have left the University for many years past; and the plan proposed, instead of breaking up this favorite resort, would only render it better suited to aid the inspirations of science, feeling, or imagination. There is something unpleasant to many, in the idea of cultivating the place of death. This may be owing to the old prejudice, which regards nature and art as opposed to each other. Nature, under all circumstances, was meant to be improved by human care; it is *unnatural* to leave it to itself; and the traces of art are never unwelcome, except when it defeats the purposes and refuses to follow the suggestions of nature.

We trust that the public spirited authors of this design will consider themselves as giving a direction to the public taste; and that they will therefore not suffer the ground to be disfigured with dungeon-like tombs, which are only suited to the cellars of churches and burying-places in cities, where the dead cannot find room to lie dust to dust. The monuments also deserve regard. The stiff and ungainly head-stone should be banished to give place to the *cippus*, or some simple form suited to resist the elements, and receive inscriptions. But the ornaments of the sepulchre should be trees and flowers. Let the monuments be found in the noble forests of our land; let them not be such as the elements waste, but such as time only strengthens and repairs.

ART. V.—*Indian Biography.*

The Fall of the Indian, with other Poems. By ISAAC McLELLAN, JR. 12mo. Boston. 1830.

The poems contained in this little volume evince a highly cultivated taste, and no inconsiderable power in the young author. As a juvenile production, they can hardly be subjected with fairness to the test of formal criticism; but should Mr. McLellan devote himself to poetry, we think we can assure him, that with due diligence and a careful study of the best models, he may attain an enviable rank among the masters of the art. Should circumstances, as is more probable, give a different direction to his future pursuits, the same vigor and vivacity of genius which prompted these essays will, we doubt not, raise him to an honorable standing in one of the learned professions. The subject of the principal poem, which gives its title to the volume, is one among other evidences of the interest that is now felt among us in the history and character of the original inhabitants of our continent. This is a topic of high importance, under various points of view, and it is particularly desirable that it should be thoroughly examined, while the last remnants of this unfortunate race are still lingering round the tombs of their ancestors. Much has been done within a few years by the learned labors of Duponceau, Heckewelder, Pickering, Cass, and others, to illustrate their institutions, language, and history; but much more is yet to be effected, and before the subject is exhausted, there is room to fear that the unfortunate policy of the Government may have anticipated the fate, which seems to have been reserved in the decrees of Providence for these children of the forest. With a view, however, of gratifying what we conceive to be the public feeling on the subject, and of exciting others to more methodical inquiries, we propose on the present occasion to offer in a desultory form, a few anecdotes of some of the most remarkable of the original inhabitants of this quarter of the country.

The clearest, if not the completest classification of the New-England Indians, at the date of the settlement of Plymouth, includes five principal confederacies, each occupying their own territory, and governed by their own chiefs. The Pequots inhabited the eastern part of Connecticut. East of them were the Narraghansetts, within whose limits Rhode-Island, and various smaller islands in the vicinity were comprised.

The Pawtucket tribes were situated chiefly in the southern section of New-Hampshire; the Massachusetts tribes around the bay of their own name; and between these upon the north and the Narraghansetts upon the south, the Pokanokets claimed a tract of what is now Bristol county, (Rhode-Island) bounded laterally by Taunton and Pawtucket rivers for some distance, together with large parts of Plymouth and Barnstable.

This confederacy exercised some dominion over the Indians of Nantucket and Martha's-Vineyard, and over several of the nearest Massachusetts and Nipmuck tribes;—the latter name designating an interior territory, now mostly within the boundaries of Worcester county. Of the Pokanokets, there were nine separate cantons or tribes, each governed by its own petty sagamore or squaw, but all subject to one grand-sachem, who was also the particular chief of the Wampanoag canton, living about Montaup. This celebrated eminence (frequently called, by corruption of the Indian name, Mount-Hope) is a mile or two east of the village of Bristol. It is very steep upon all sides, and terminates in a large rock, having the appearance to a distant spectator, of an immense dome. It was the favorite residence of Philip, Alexander, Massasoit,* and the long line of royal ancestry who probably preceded them; and they could scarcely have chosen one more creditable to their taste. It commanded a magnificent prospect of Providence and the surrounding country and bay.†

The first knowledge which we have of Massasoit and his Wampanoag subjects, is furnished in the collections of Purchas, on the authority of a Captain Dermer, the Master Thomas Dirmire spoken of by John Smith in his *New-Eng-*

* We have given the most simple orthography of this word. It is frequently written Massasoyt, Massasoiet, Massasowat, &c. Mr. Belknap says, (American Biography,) that contemporary pronunciation made it a word of four syllables, with the accent on the second,—Mas-sass-o-it. The sachem subsequently assumed another name, which has undergone still more various modifications,—Oosamequin, Woosamequin, and Ausamequin, are some of them.

† And such too, it may be added, was the location of Sassacus, the chief sachem of the Pequots. His principal fortress, on a beautiful hill in the town of Groton, (Connecticut,) commanded, as Dr. Trumbull observes, one of the finest prospects of the Sound and the adjacent country which is to be found upon the coast. His other strong hold was a few miles east of this, near Mystic river, upon a beautiful eminence, gradually descending toward the south and south-east.

land Trialls, as 'an vnderstanding and industrious gentleman, who was also with *him* amongst the Frenchmen.' Dermer was sent out from England in 1619, by Sir F. Gorges, on account of the President and Council of New-England, in a ship of two hundred tons. He had a Pokanoket Indian with him, named Squanto, one of about twenty who had been kidnapped on the coast by Captain Hunt, in 1614, and sold as slaves at Malaga for twenty pounds a man.* Squanto and a few others of the captives were either rescued or redeemed, by the benevolent interposition of some of the monks upon that island. 'When I arrived,' says Dermer in his letter to Purchas, 'at my savage's native country, finding all dead, I travelled along a day's journey to a place called Mummastaquyt, where, finding inhabitants, I despatched a messenger a day's journey further west, to Pacanokit, which bordereth on the sea; whence came to see me two kings, attended with a guard of fifty armed men, who being well satisfied with that my savage and I discoursed unto them, (being desirous of novelty) gave me content in whatsoever I demanded. Here I redeemed a Frenchman, and afterwards another at Masstachusitt, who three years since escaped shipwreck at the northeast of Cape Cod.' One of these two kings,—as the sachems were frequently entitled by the early writers,—must have been Massasoit, so well known afterwards to the Plymouth settlers; and probably the second was his brother Quadepinah. Mummastaquyt was no doubt the place where Edward Winslow speaks of tarrying, on his embassy to Massasoit in 1623, by him called Namaskhet, and now known as a part of Middleborough. As to 'finding inhabitants,' Winslow concluded that he was near the residence of Massasoit here, because 'the inhabitants flocked so thick upon every slight occasion amongst them.' The 'native country' of Squanto was the vicinity of Plymouth, where the Indians are understood to have been

* It is gratifying to learn from Smith that Hunt was punished, though not according to the baseness of his infamous crime. 'He betraied foure and twentie of these poore Saluages aboord his ship, and most dishonestly and inhumanely for their kinde usage of me and all our men, carried them with him to Maligo, and there for a little priuate gaine sold those silly Saluages for Rials of eight; *but this vilde act kept him ever after from any more imploiement to these parts.*'—Generale Historie of New-England, published in 1632.

kidnapped. Thousands of them, there as well as elsewhere along the whole coast of New-England, had been swept off by a terrible pestilence.

The first appearance of Massasoit after the settlement of Plymouth, was upon the 22d of March, 1621, a week previous to which some information concerning him had been gathered from an Indian named Samoset, who entered the village with great boldness, and greeted the inhabitants with a 'welcome.' On the second occasion, he came in with four others,—having engaged to introduce some of the Wampanoags, to traffic in furs,—among whom was Squanto, at that time probably the sole remaining native of Plymouth. This party brought a few fish and skins to sell, and informed the English that the great sachem, with his brother and his whole force, were near at hand. Massasoit soon appeared upon the neighboring hill, with sixty men. As they seemed unwilling to approach nearer, Squanto was despatched to ascertain their designs; and they gave him to understand, that they wished some one should be sent to hold a parley. Edward Winslow was appointed to this office, and he immediately carried presents to the sachem, which were willingly accepted. He addressed him also in a speech of some length, which the Indians listened to with the decorous gravity characteristic of the race, ill-explained as it was by the interpreter. The purport of the speech was, that King James saluted the sachem, his brother, with the words of peace and love; that he accepted him as his friend and ally; and that the Governor desired to see him, and to trade and treat with him upon friendly terms. Massasoit appears to have made no special reply to this harangue, for the sufficient reason, probably, that he did not precisely comprehend the drift of it. He paid more attention to the sword and armor of Winslow while he spoke; and when he had ceased speaking, signified his disposition to commence the proposed trade forthwith by buying *them*. They were not, however, for sale; and so, leaving Winslow in the custody of his brother, he crossed a brook between him and the English, taking with him twenty of the Wampanoags, who were directed to leave their bows and arrows behind them. Beyond the brook he was met by Captain Standish and another gentleman, with an escort of six armed men, who exchanged salutations with him, and attended him to one of the best houses in the village. Here, a green rug was spread

upon the floor, and three or four cushions piled on it for his accommodation. The Governor then entered the house, followed by several soldiers, and preceded by a flourish of a drum and trumpet,—a measure probably recommended by Standish, and which answered the purpose of delighting and astounding the Wampanoags, even beyond expectation. It was a deference paid to their sovereign, which pleased as much as it surprised them. The sachem and the Governor now kissed each other, and after the interchange of certain other civilities, sat down together, and regaled themselves with what Neal calls an entertainment. It consisted, it seems, chiefly of 'strong waters, a thing the savages love very well; and the sachem took such a large draught of it at once, as made him sweat all the while he staid.' Other historians represent him as having been under some alarm during the conference, which was manifested by his trembling; but the latter fact, if it be one, may possibly be attributed to some other cause. A treaty was concluded upon this occasion, the terms of which were as follows.

1. That neither he, nor any of his (Massasoit's) should injure or do hurt to any of their people.

2. That if any of his did any hurt to any of theirs, he should send the offender, that they might punish him.

3. That if any thing were taken away from any of theirs, he should cause it to be restored, and they should do the like to his.

4. That if any did unjustly war against him, they would aid him; and if any did war against them, he should aid them.

5. That he should send to his neighbor confederates, to inform them of this, that they might not wrong them, but might be likewise comprised in these conditions of peace.

6. That when his came to them upon any occasion, they should leave their arms behind them.

7. That so doing, their Sovereign Lord, King James, would esteem him as his friend and ally.

'All which,' says Morton,—and some other annalists agree with him,—'he liked very well, and withal, at the same time, acknowledged himself content to become the subject of our Sovereign Lord the King aforesaid, his heirs and successors; and gave unto him all the lands adjacent, to him and his heirs forever.' This acknowledgement of the sovereignty of the

King, if it really made a part of the agreement, certainly deserved a place as a distinct article; being by far more important than all the others. The grant of land,—and this grant constituted the entire title of the Plymouth settlers, as against the natives,—is confirmed by subsequent transactions, and especially by the acts of Massasoit. But his submission to the authority of King James, as a subject to a sovereign, is more doubtful; nor does it by any means accord with the seventh express article. That the treaty itself also was not preserved precisely as it was probably understood, may be inferred from the variations of it given by Mourt in his Relation. According to *his* sixth article, for example, a just reciprocity is maintained, by providing that the English should leave their *pieces* behind them in their interviews with the Indians. This distinction between alliance and subjection,—at least in the mind of one of the parties,—seems to have been too much overlooked; especially by those writers, who also confound the renewal of an old treaty,—as Alexander and Philip are understood to have renewed this,—with the making of a new one in conformity to constructions which a single party might gratuitously put upon the old. It may be doubted, perhaps, whether there is any other foundation than this same mistake, for the freedom with which Hubbard, Mather, and several others, characterize the last named Prince particularly, as a treacherous and perfidious caitiff,—a notorious traitor,—the villain,—and the grand REBEL.

Such, however, was the first treaty made with the Indians of New England,—a passage in its history of great interest. It was made upon peaceable and honorable terms. The Indians came in voluntarily to make it; and though they received as a consideration for the immense territory granted at the time, only a pair of knives, and a copper chain with a jewel in it for the grand sachem; and a knife, a jewel to hang in his ear, a pot of strong water, a good quantity of biscuit, and some butter for Quadepinah,*—yet were all parties satisfied with the substance as they were gratified by the ceremonies of the agreement. It is pleasing to learn from history, that this simple negotiation was remembered and adhered to

* So minutely is the transaction described in *The Journal of a Plantation at Plymouth*, preserved by Purchas, and re-published among the Historical Collections of Massachusetts. There is reason to think that Winslow was the author.

on both sides for the unparalleled term of half a century; nor was Massasoit, or any of the Wampanoags during his life-time, convicted by the harshest revilers of his race, of having violated, or attempted to violate, any of its plain, just, and deliberate provisions.

The two parties seem to have regarded each other on this occasion with a curiosity of equal interest and minuteness; for while the sachem was inspecting the armor of Winslow, and his Wampanoags exerting themselves to blow the trumpet in imitation of their hosts,* the English by-standers, on the other hand, were making their own observations. The writer of the *Journal of a Plantation settled at Plymouth*, describes Massasoit as 'a very lusty man, in his best years, an able body, grave of countenance, and spare of speech.' In his attire, he is said to have differed little from the rest of his followers, excepting that he wore a large chain of white bone-beads about his neck, which was, probably, one of the royal *insignia;* and that he had suspended from it behind, a little bag of tobacco, which he *drank*, says the writer, 'and gave us to drink.' His appearance otherwise does not seem to have been particularly elegant; his face being painted of a sad red, like murrey, and both head and face so oiled that he 'looked greasily.' His only weapon was a long knife, swinging at his bosom by a string. His attendants were probably arrayed for this great occasion with peculiar attention to etiquette; some of them being painted black, others red, yellow, or white; some wearing crosses and 'other antick works;' and several of them dressed in furs or skins of various descriptions. Being tall, strong men also, and the first natives whom most of the Colonists had ever seen near at hand, they must have made to them a somewhat imposing, as well as interesting spectacle. Leaving a few of their number among the whites, as hostages, the Wampanoags retired to the woods about half a mile distant and spent the night; and Winslow acted as *their* hostage. The English were not yet prepared, it would seem, to put faith in the professions of savages; for they kept strict watch all night, besides retaining the security just named. Their guests, on the contrary, enjoyed themselves quietly in the woods; and there were some of their wives and children

* 'He marvelled much at our trumpet, and some of his men would sound it as well as we could.'—*Journal.*

with them, who must have come upon this courteous visit from a distance of forty miles. The sachem sent several of his people the next morning, to signify his wish that some of his new friends would honor *him* with their presence. Standish and one Alderton* 'went venturously' among them, and were cordially, if not royally welcomed with an entertainment of tobacco and ground-nuts. 'We cannot yet conceive,' continues our still unsatisfied informant, 'but that he is willing to have peace with us; for they have seen our people sometimes alone two or three in the woods at work and fowling, when they offered them no harm, as they might easily have done.' They remained at their encampment till late in the forenoon; the Governor requiting the sachem's liberality, meanwhile, by sending an express messenger for his large kettle, and filling it with dry peas. 'This pleased them well; and so they went their way;'—the one party as much relieved, no doubt, as the other was gratified.

Such was the earliest visit, of ceremony or business at least, which the natives of New-England paid to the Colonists. The account given of it, though *ex parte*, as all such descriptions must be, is honorable to the former in the highest degree. They show that many, if not most of the savages, who were fairly dealt with, were at first as sensible and as prone to kindness as could have been wished. They went unarmed among the settlers without fear, disposed to be honest and friendly at all events, and as hospitable as their means permitted. It will appear in the sequel, that they continued so for a long course of years, as they also continued faithful to their express obligations. It is worth noticing, that Samoset and Squanto remained with the Colonists on the departure of Massasoit, probably with his permission, if not by his order. They subsequently instructed their new friends as to the best time, places and methods of taking fish,† and in the simple agriculture of their country-

* From whom the outer point of Boston harbor is said to have been named.

† We shall be excused for citing these pleasant passages, trifling as they are. It is said, that on one occasion,—'Squanto went at noon to fish for eels, at night he came home with as many as he could lift in one hand. He had trod them with his feet, and so caught them with his hands, without any other instrument.' An interesting notice of this savage might be collected, were there space for it in a note. We

men, showing them particularly how their *Indian corn* should be planted.

We meet with Massasoit again in July, 1621; an embassy being then sent to him at his own residence, Montaup or Sowams. This embassy consisted of Edward Winslow and Stephen Hopkins; and the objects of it were, says Mourt,* 'that *forasmuch as his subjects came often and without fear upon all occasions amongst us*,' so the English went now to visit him, carrying with them a coat from the Governor to his friend the sachem, as a token of good will, and desire to live peaceably. It was farther intimated, though with great delicacy, that whereas his people came frequently and in great numbers to Plymouth, wives, children, and all, and were always welcome,—yet being but strangers in the land, and not confident how their corn might prosper, they could no longer give them such entertainment as they had done, and still wished to do. If Massasoit himself, however, would visit them, or any special friend of his, he should be welcome. A request was then made, that the Pokanokets, who had furs, should be permitted to dispose of them to the Colonists. The Governor wished him also to exchange some corn for seed with the Plymouth people. The remaining article in this message is more illustrative of the relations understood to exist and to be desirable between the parties. On the first arrival of the Colonists at Cape Cod, it seems they had found corn buried there in the ground. Seeing no inhabitants in the neighborhood, 'but some graves of the dead newly buried,' they took the corn, with the intention of making full satisfaction for it whenever it became practicable. The owners of it were supposed to have fled through fear. It was now proposed, that these men should be informed by Massasoit,—if they could be found,—that the English were ready to pay

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shall only observe, at present, that he is the same character otherwise called Squantum, and Tisquantum by various writers. John Smith takes the liberty to call him Tusquantum. Those who look much into the literature of the Indians, will find some amusement as well as no little perplexity in the variety of titles attached to the same person or thing. We have seen that Dermer speaks of the Mastachusitts, meaning the same people whom the more scrupulous and better informed Roger Williams denominates the *Massachuseük*.

* See Mourt's Relation, part of which is also preserved in the Collections. The name of the publisher only seems to be attached to it.

them with an equal quantity of corn, English meal, or 'any other commodities they had to pleasure them withal;' and full satisfaction was offered for any trouble, which the sachem might do them the favor to take. This proposal was equally politic and just.

The visitors met with a generous, though humble hospitality, which reminds one of the first reception of Columbus by the West-Indian islanders, and of Penn and Roger Williams by the Delawares and the Narraghansetts. They reached Namaschet about three o'clock in the afternoon; and there, we are told, the inhabitants entertained them with joy, in the best manner they were able; giving them sweet bread* and fish, with a less acceptable accompaniment of boiled musty acorns. Various civilities were exchanged after this primitive and savory repast,—as ancient, by the way, as the early Greeks,—and some time was passed very pleasantly in shooting a crow at a considerable distance, to the vast astonishment and amusement of the Indians. They were then directed to a place about eight miles distant, (Middleborough) where, says the Journalist, they should find 'more store and better victuals.' They were welcomed, on their arrival, by a party who were catching great numbers of fine bass in Taunton river, and who gave them a supper, and a breakfast in the morning, besides the privilege of lodging in the woods near by over night. Attended by six of their hosts the next day, they were assisted in passing the river; and here they met with the first indications of ill-will, in the persons of two old Indians upon the opposite bank. These two, espying them as they entered the river, ran swiftly and stealthily among the high grass to meet them; and then, with loud voices and drawn bows, demanded of the strangers who they were; 'but seeing we were friends,' it is added, 'they welcomed us with such food as they had, and we bestowed a small bracelet of beads on them.' The remarks which follow this, upon the conduct of the six attendants, we cannot forbear citing at large, irrelevant to our main purpose as they are. We regard them with delight, as a beautiful illustration of the character of the natives as it was in the beginning, and as it might have been

* Called *mazium*, and made of Indian corn, no doubt. Gookin says, that a meal which they made of parched maize was so sweet, so hearty, and so *toothsome*, that an Indian would travel many days with no other food.

always, could the same circumstances have prompted the same developements. 'When we came to a small brook,' says this accurate writer, 'where no bridge was, two of them desired to carry us through of their own accords; also fearing we were, or would be weary, offered to carry our pieces; also if we would lay off any of our clothes, [it being excessively hot,] we should have them carried; and as the one of them had found more special kindness from one of the messengers, and the other savage from the other, so they showed their thankfulness accordingly, in affording us help and furtherance in the journey.'

After one more entertainment on the way, our travellers reached Sowams. Massasoit was not at home, but arrived soon after, and was saluted by his visiters with a discharge of musketry. He welcomed them kindly after the Indian manner, took them into his lodge, and seated them by himself. They then delivered their message and presents, the latter comprising a horseman's coat of red cotton, embroidered with fine lace. The sachem mounted this superb article without delay, and hung the chain, which they also gave him, about his neck, evidently enjoying the unspeakable admiration of the Wampanoags, who gazed upon him at a distance. He now answered the message, clause after clause; and particularly signified his desire to continue in peace and friendship with his neighbors. He gathered his men around him, in fine, and harangued them; they occasionally confirming what he said by their customary ejaculations. Was not he, Massasoit, commander of the country about them? Was not such a town within his dominions, and were not the people of it his subjects, and should they not bring their skins to him, if he wished it? In this manner he proceeded to name about thirty of his small settlements, his attentive auditors responding to each question. This matter being regularly settled, he lighted tobacco for his guests, and conversed with them about their own country and King, marvelling, above all, that his Majesty should live without a squaw. As it grew late, and he offered no more substantial entertainment than this,—for the sound reason, that he had nothing to offer, and was unwilling to mention that circumstance,—his guests intimated a wish to retire for the night. He forthwith accommodated them, with himself and his wife, they at one end and his visiters at the other, of a bed

consisting of a plank platform, raised a foot or two from the ground and covered with a thin mat. Two of his chief men, probably by way of compliment, were also stationed upon the same premises; and this body-guard performed their pressing duty of escort so effectually, that no other circumstances were necessary to make the honored guests 'worse weary of their lodging than they had been of their journey.' On the following day, many of the petty sagamores, with their subjects, came in from the adjacent country, and various sports and games were got up for the entertainment of the English. At noon, they partook, with the sachem and about forty others, of a meal of boiled fish *shot* by himself, (probably with arrows.) They continued with him until the next morning, when they departed, leaving Massasoit 'both grieved and ashamed' that he could not better entertain them. Very importunate he was, adds the journalist, to have them stay with him longer; but as they had eaten but one meal for two days and a night, with the exception of a partridge, which one of them killed; and what with their location at night, the 'savages' barbarous singing of themselves to sleep,' mosquitoes without doors, and other trifling inconveniences within, could not sleep at all; they begged to be excused,—on the score of conscience, Sunday being near at hand,—not to mention that they were growing light-headed, and could hardly expect, if they stayed much longer, to be able to reach home.

Massasoit's friendship was again tested in March, 1622, when an Indian, known to be under Squanto's influence, came running in among a party of colonists, with his face gashed, and the blood fresh upon it, calling out to them to flee for their lives, and then looking behind him as if pursued. On coming up, he told them that the Indians, under Massasoit, were congregating at a certain place for an attack upon the Colony; that he had received his wounds in consequence of opposing their designs; and had barely escaped from them with his life. This report occasioned no little alarm; although the correctness of it was flatly denied by Hobamock, a Pokanoket Indian resident at Plymouth, who recommended that a messenger should be sent secretly to Sowams, for the purpose of ascertaining the truth. This was done, and the messenger, finding every thing in its usually quiet state, informed Massasoit of the reports circulated against him. He was excessively incensed against Squanto; but sent his thanks to the Governor for the good

opinion of his fidelity, which he understood him to retain; and directed the messenger to assure him, that he should instantly apprise him of any conspiracy which might at any future time take place. Some writers have imputed this stratagem of Squanto, to an ambition of notoriety among his countrymen. Others suggest, that he may have intended only an innocent liberty, afterwards to be explained and excused, manœuvres of this nature being not uncommon among the Indians. But whatever was the occasion of the rumor, there is no doubt either of its entire falsity or of the great and just offence which it gave.

That the declarations of Massasoit, upon this occasion, were far from being mere words of compulsion or of courtesy, is abundantly proved by his conduct during the next season, 1623. Early in the spring of that year, news came to Plymouth, that he was very sick at Sowams; and it was determined to send Mr. Winslow to visit him once more, in token of the friendship of the colonists. That gentleman immediately commenced his journey, being provided with a few cordials, and attended by 'one Master John Hampden, a London gentleman, who then wintered with him, and desired much to see the country,'— no doubt the same character so eminently distinguished afterwards in the politics of England. They heard, at various places on their route, that the sachem was already dead; and their guide, Hobamock, indulged himself all the way in the most unbounded grief. They found him still living, however, on their arrival; and the multitude of dependents and friends who thronged his lodge, made way as fast as possible for their admittance and accommodation. He appeared to be reduced to the last extremities. Six or eight women were employed in chafing his cold limbs, and the residue of the numerous company were exerting themselves to the utmost, meanwhile, in making what Winslow rather uncharitably calls 'such a hellish noise as distempered those that were well.'* He had the good sense, however, to wait for the conclusion of the ceremony; and the

*Probably an Indian Powah was leader of the chorus. Of these barbarian quacks, Roger Williams says, that 'the poore people commonly dye under their hands,' for the very good reason that they 'administer nothing, but howle, and roar, and hollow over them, and begin the song to the rest of the people about them, who all joyne (like a quire) in prayer to the gods for them.' *Key to the Indian Language*, chapter xxxi.

exhausted performers being then satisfied that they had done all that in them lay for the benefit of the patient, one of them apprised him of the arrival of the English. '*Who* have come?' muttered the sachem, still conscious, though his sight was wholly gone. They told him Winsnow had come, (as they generally substituted *n* for the English *l*.) 'Let me speak with him then,' he replied, 'Let me speak one word to him.' Winslow now went forward to the matted platform where he lay, and grasped the feeble hand which the sachem, informed of his approach, held out for him. 'Art thou Winsnow?' he whispered the question again, (in his own language,) 'Art thou Winsnow?' Being readily answered in the affirmative, he appeared satisfied of the fact. But 'O Winsnow,' added he mournfully, 'I shall never see thee again!' Hobamock was now called, and desired to assure the sachem of the Governor's kind remembrance of him in his present situation, and to inform him of the articles they had brought with them for his use. He immediately signified his wish to taste of these; and they were given him accordingly, to the great delight of the people around him. Winslow then proceeded to use measures for his relief, which wrought a great change in the sachem within half an hour. He recovered his sight gradually, and began to converse, requesting his good friend Winslow, among other things, to kill him a fowl, and make him some English pottage, such as he had seen at Plymouth. This was done for him, and such other care taken as restored his strength and appetite wonderfully within the day or two of Winslow's stay. His expressions of gratitude, as well as those of his delighted attendants, were constant, as they were evidently warm from the heart. Finally, as his guests were about to leave him, he called Hobamock to his side, and revealed to him a plot against the colonists, recently formed, as he understood, among certain of the Massachusetts tribes, and in which he had himself been invited to join. He also recommended certain summary measures for the suppression of the plot, and concluded with charging Hobamock to communicate all these things to Winslow on the way to Plymouth. It may be added here, that these measures were subsequently executed by Standish, and were successful. The conspiracy itself was occasioned by the notorious and outrageous profligacy of the banditti of 'Master Weston,' at Weymouth.

The leading particulars in the residue of Massasoit's life, may

soon be detailed. In 1632, he was assaulted at Sowams, by a party of Narraghansetts, and obliged to take refuge in an English house. His situation was soon ascertained at Plymouth, and an armed force being promptly despatched to his succor, under his old friend Standish, the Narraghansetts retired. About the year 1639, he probably associated his eldest son Moanam or Wamsutta, with him in the government; for they came together into open court at Plymouth, it is said, on the 28th of September of that year, and desired that the ancient treaty of 1621 might remain inviolable. They also entered into some new engagements, chiefly going to secure to the Colony a pre-emptive claim to the Pokanoket lands. 'And the whole court,' add the records, 'in the name of the whole government for each town respectively, did then likewise ratify and confirm the aforesaid ancient league and confederacy.' From this time, the names of the father and son are sometimes found united, and sometimes not so, in instruments by which land was conveyed to the English. In 1649, the former sold the territory of Bridgewater in his own name. 'Witnes these presents,' says the deed, 'that I, Ousamequin, sachem of the contrie of Pocanauket, have given, granted, enfeofed, and sould unto Myles Standish,' &c. This is subscribed by the peculiar mark of the sachem, and another paragraph is then signed by Standish and two others, binding them 'to pay unto the said Ousamequin, for and in consideration of the said tract of land, as followeth, viz. seven coats, a yard and half in a coat, nine hatchets, eight hoes, twenty knives, four moose-skins, ten yards and a half of cotton.' Four years after this, the father and son *jointly* conveyed certain lands in the neighborhood of their own residence, for the stated consideration of thirty-five pounds. From the proviso in this case, that entry should take place whenever the resident Indians might choose to remove, some idea may be formed of the nature of their own authority and property. This was one of the last recorded acts of Massasoit, for it seems to be generally agreed, that he died about the year 1656, at which time he must have been more than seventy years of age. The colonists speak of him forty-five years previous, it will be remembered, as in the full stature of his best years.

Such are the few and simple passages, which history has preserved of the life of the earliest and best friend of the colonists; and few and simple as they are, they give glimpses

of a character that, under other circumstances, might have placed Massasoit among the illustrious of his age. He was a mere untutored savage; ignorant of the simple arts of reading and writing, even after an intercourse of near fifty years with the colonists; and distinguished from the mass of savages around him, as we have seen, by no other outward emblem than a barbarous ornament of bones. It must be observed, too, as to them, that the authority which they conferred upon him, or rather upon his ancestors, was their free gift, and was liable at any moment to be retracted, wholly or in part, either by the general voice or by the defection or violence of individuals. The intrinsic dignity and energy of his character alone, therefore, must have sustained the dominion of the sachem, with no essential distinction or division of wealth, retinue, cultivation, or situation in any respect, between him and the meanest of the Wampanoags. The naked qualities of his intellect and his heart must have gained their loyalty, controlled their extravagant passions to his own purposes, and won upon their personal confidence and affection. That he did this appears from the fact, so singular in Indian history, that among all the Pokanoket tribes, there was scarcely an instance of even an individual broil or quarrel with the English during his long life. Some of these tribes, living nearer the Colony than any other Indians, and going into it daily in such numbers, that Massasoit was finally requested to restrain them from 'pestering' their friends by their mere multitude,—these shrewd beings must have perceived, as well as Massasoit himself did, that the colonists were as miserably fearful as they were feeble and few. Some of them, too,—the sachem Corbitant, for example,—were notoriously hostile, and perhaps had certain supposed reasons for being so. Yet this cunning and ambitious savage extricated himself from the only overt act of rebellion he is known to have attempted, by 'soliciting the good offices of Massasoit,' we are told, 'to reconcile him to the English.' And such was the influence of the chief sachem, not only over him, but over the Massachusetts sachems, that nine of the principal of them soon after came into Plymouth from great distances, for the purpose of signifying their humble respect for the authority of the English. That Massasoit was beloved as well as respected by his subjects and neighbors, far and wide, appears from the great multitude of anxious friends who thronged about him during his sickness. Some of them,

as Winslow ascertained, had come more than one hundred miles for the purpose of seeing him; and they all watched *his* operations in that case, with as intense anxiety as if the prostrate patient had been the father or the brother of each. And meagre as is the justice which history does the sachem, it still furnishes some evidence, not to be mistaken, that he had won this regard from them by his kindness. There is a passage of affecting simplicity in Winslow's Relation, going to show that he did not forget their minutest interests, even in his own almost unconscious helplessness. 'That morning,' it is said, 'he caused me to spend in going from one to another among those that were sick in the town [Sowams]; requesting me to treat them as I had him, and to give to each of them some of the same I gave him, *saying they were good folk*.'

But these noble traits of the character of Massasoit are still more abundantly illustrated by the whole tenor of his intercourse with the whites. Of his mere sense of his positive obligations to them, including his fidelity to the famous treaty of 1621, nothing more need be said, excepting that the annals of the continent furnish scarcely one parallel even to that case. But he went much farther than this. He not only visited the Colony in the first instance of his own free will and accord, but he entered into the negotiations cheerfully and deliberately; and in the face of their manifest fear and suspicion. Henceforth the results of it were regarded not with the mere honesty of an ally, but with the warm interest of a friend. It was probably at his secret and delicate suggestion,—and it could scarcely have been without his permission at all events,—that his own subjects took up their residence among the colonists, with the view of guiding, piloting, interpreting for them, and teaching them their own useful knowledge. Winslow speaks of his *appointing another* to fill the place of Squanto at Plymouth, while the latter should be sent about among the Pokanokets, under *his* orders, 'to procure truck [in furs] for the English. The vast grant of territory which he made in the first instance has been spoken of. It was made with the simple observation, that his claim to it was the sole claim in existence. It was also without consideration; the generous sachem, as Roger Williams says of the Narraghansetts in a similar case, 'being *shy and jealous of selling* the lands to any, and choosing rather to make a gift of them to such as they affected.' Such is the only jealousy which Massasoit can be said ever to have

entertained of the English. Nor do we find any evidence that he repented of this liberality, or considered it the incautious extravagance of a moment of flattered complaisance. We do find, however, that he invariably watched over the interest of the grantees, with more strictness than he would probably have watched over his own. He laid claim, in one instance, it seems, to a tract for which Mr. Williams had negotiated with the Narraghansetts,—that gentleman being ignorant, perhaps, of an existing controversy between the two tribes. 'It is mine,' said the sachem, 'It is mine, and *therefore theirs*,'—plainly implying that the ground in question was comprised within the original transfer. Whether this claim was just, or whether it was insisted upon, does not appear; but there is indication enough, both of the opinion and feeling of Massasoit. An anecdote of him, recorded by Governor Winthrop, under the title of a 'pleasant passage,' is still more striking. His old friend *Winsnow*, it seems, made a trading voyage to Connecticut, during the summer of 1634. On his return, he left his vessel upon the Narraghansett coast, for some reason or other, and commenced his journey for Plymouth across the woods. Finding himself at a loss, probably, as to his route, he made his way to Sowams, and called upon his ancient acquaintance, the sachem. The latter gave him his usual kind welcome, and, upon his leaving him, offered to conduct him home,—a pedestrian journey of two days. He had just despatched one of his Wampanoags to Plymouth, with instructions to inform the friends of Winslow, that he was dead, and to persuade them of this melancholy fact, by specifying such particulars as their own ingenuity might suggest. All this was done accordingly; and the tidings occasioned, as might be expected, a very unpleasant excitement throughout the Colony. In the midst of it, however, on the next day, the sachem entered the village, attended by Winslow, and with more than his usual complacency in his honest and cheerful countenance. He was asked why such a report had been circulated the day previous. 'That Winsnow might be the more welcome,' answered he, 'and that you might be the more happy,—it is my custom.' He had come thus far to enjoy this surprise personally; and he returned homeward, more gratified by it, without doubt, than he would have been by the most fortunate foray among the Narraghansetts.

It is intimated by some writers, rather more frequently than

is either just or generous, that the sachem's fear of the tribe just named lay at the foundation of his friendship. It might have been nearer the apparent truth, considering all that is known of Massasoit, to say, that his interest happened to coincide with his inclination. At all events, it was in the power of any other of the sachems or kings throughout the country, to place and sustain themselves upon the same footing with the colonists, had they been prompted either by as much good feeling or good sense. On the contrary, the Massachusetts were plotting and threatening on one hand, as we have seen,—not without provocation, it must be allowed,—while the Narraghansett sachem, upon the other, had sent in his compliments as early as 1622, in the shape of a bundle of arrows, tied up with a rattlesnake's skin. Nor should we forget the wretched feebleness of the Colony at the period of their first acquaintance with Massasoit. Indeed, the instant measures which he took for their relief and protection, look more like the promptings of compassion, than of either hope or fear. A month previous to his appearance among them, they were reduced to such a pitiable condition by sickness, that only six or seven men of their whole number were able to do business in the open air; and probably their entire fighting force, could they have been mustered together, would scarcely have equalled that little detachment which Massasoit brought with him into the village, delicately leaving twice as many, with the arms of all, behind him; as he afterwards exchanged six hostages for one. No wonder that the Colonists 'could not yet conceive but that he was willing to have peace with them.'

But the motives of the sachem are still further manifested by the sense of his own dignity, which, peaceable as he generally was, he showed promptly upon all suitable occasions. Both the informal grant and the formal deeds we have mentioned, indicate that he understood himself to be the master of his ancestral territory as much in right as in fact. There is nothing in his whole history, which does more honor to his intelligence or his sensibility, than his conduct occasioned by the falsehoods circulated among the Colonists against him by Squanto. His first impulse, as we have seen, was to be offended with the guilty intriguer; the second, to thank the Governor for appealing to himself in this case, and to assure him that he would at any time 'send word and give warning when any such business was towards.' On further inquiry,

he ascertained that Squanto was taking even more liberties with his reputation than he had been aware of. He went forthwith to Plymouth, and made his appeal personally to the Governor. The latter pacified him as well as he could, and he returned home. But a very short time had elapsed before a message came from him, *entreating* the Governor to consent to the death of the renegade who still abused him. The Governor confessed in reply, that Squanto deserved death, but desired that he might be spared on account of his indispensable services. Massasoit was not yet satisfied. The former messenger was again sent, 'with divers others,' says Winslow in his Relation, '*demanding* him, [Squanto] as being one of Massasoit's subjects, whom by our first articles of peace we could not retain; yet because he would not willingly do it [insist upon his rights] without the Governor's approbation, he offered him many beaver-skins for his consent thereto.' The deputation had brought these skins, accordingly, as also the sachem's own knife, for the execution of the criminal. Squanto now surrendered himself to the Governor; as an Indian always resigns himself to his fate upon similar occasions; but the Governor still contrived a pretext for sparing him. The deputies were 'mad with rage and impatient of delay,' as may be supposed, and departed in great heat. The conduct of the sachem in this case was manifestly more correct than that of his ally. He understood as well as the Governor did, the spirit of the articles in the treaty, which provided, that an offender upon either side should be given up to punishment upon demand; and he was careful to make that demand personally, explicitly and respectfully. The Governor, on the other hand, as well as the culprit himself, acknowledged the justice of it, but manœuvred to avoid compliance. The true reason is no doubt given by Winslow. It is also given in the language of John Smith. 'With much adoe,' says the honest Captain, 'we appeased the angry king and the rest of the saluages, and freely forgaue Tusquantum, *because he speaking our language we could not be well without him.*' The king was angry, then, as he well might be; and the Governor took the trouble, he was both bound and interested to take, to appease him. It is not to be wondered at, perhaps, that the particulars of this transaction are so little dwelt upon by the writers of that period. Winslow barely states,—speaking, in another connexion, of the Indians being evidently aware of the weakness of the

Colony,—that, what was worse, 'now also Massasoit seemed to frown upon us, and neither came nor sent to us as formerly.' This passage is no less significant than brief; but not more so than a subsequent dry observation respecting Squanto, 'whose peace, before this time, (the fall of the same year) *was wrought* with Massasoit.'

Such were the life and character of Massasoit. It is to be regretted, that so few particulars are preserved of the former, and that so little justice, consequently, can be done to the latter. But so far as his history goes, it certainly makes him one of the most remarkable men of his race. There is no nobler instance in all history, of national fidelity, (for which he mainly must have the credit,) or of individual friendship. This instinct of a generous nature in the first instance, being confirmed by a course of conduct generally alike creditable to the feelings and shrewdness of the Colonists, finally settled itself in the mind of Massasoit as ineradicably as his affection for his own subjects. 'I know now,' said he to Winslow, on his first recovery from the severe sickness we have mentioned, 'I *know* that the English love me,—I love them,—I shall never forget them.' But putting even the most unnatural construction upon the professions and the conduct of the sachem, the relation he commenced and for forty-five years sustained with the English, must be allowed to show at least a consummate sagacity. He certainly succeeded during all this time, not only in shielding his tribes from their just or unjust hostility, but in gaining their respect to such a singular degree, that the writings of no single author within our recollection furnish one word to his disparagement. Even Hubbard speaks of him with something like regard; notwithstanding the obnoxious trait in his character indicated in the following passage. 'It is very remarkable,' he says, 'that this Woosamequin, how much soever he affected the English, was never in the least degree well affected to their religion.' It is added furthermore, that in his last treaty with the whites at Swanzey, —referring to the sale of land which we have mentioned,—he exerted himself to bind them solemnly 'never to draw away any of his people from their old pagan superstition and devilish idolatry to the Christian religion.' This he insisted on, it is added, until they threatened to break off the negotiation on account of his pertinacity, and he then gave up the point.

Massasoit did not distinguish himself as a warrior; nor is

he known to have been once engaged in any open hostilities, even with the inimical and powerful tribes who environed his territory. This is another unique trait in his character; and considering the general attachment of all Indians to a belligerent life, their almost exclusive deference for warlike qualities, the number and scattered location of the Pokanoket tribes, and especially the character of their ancient neighbors, this very fact is alone sufficient to distinguish the genius of Massasoit. All the native nations of New-England, but his, were involved in dissensions and wars with each other and with the whites; and they all shared sooner or later the fate which he avoided. The restless ringleaders who plotted mischief among the Massachusetts, were summarily knocked upon the head by Miles Standish, while hundreds of the residue fled, and miserably perished in their own swamps. The Pequots,—a nation who could muster 3000 bow-men but a short time previous,—were nearly exterminated in 1637. The savages of Maine, meanwhile, the Mohawks of New-York, the Narraghansetts and the Mohegans were fighting and reducing each others' strength, as if their only object had been, by ultimately extirpating themselves, to prepare a way in the wilderness for the new comers.

Massasoit was succeeded in the Pokanoket government by his eldest son, Moanam, alias Wamsutta, known to the English chiefly by the name of Alexander, as his younger brother was by the name of Philip. The two young men came together into court, at Plymouth, in 1656, as their father had done before them; and, professing great regard for the Colonists, requested that English names might be given them. Little more than this is known of Alexander, excepting that he died in 1662, after a reign of six years. He had the merit of preserving the friendship of the Colony during this time; and that, it seems, without showing any greater disposition than Massasoit had done, or than Philip did afterwards, to be either civilized or christianized, or to suffer his subjects to be so. Hubbard takes the liberty to say, that he had neither affection for the Englishmen's persons, nor yet for their religion. He adds also, that he plotted with the Narraghansetts against the English. As this rumor led to his death, and is at all events of some consequence to his reputation, it is natural to examine into the grounds upon which it was founded. Hubbard barely observes, that the Governor and Council were informed of the

fact. Mather states, with no more particularity, that the sachem solicited the Narraghansetts to rebel with him; upon *the good proof whereof*, the Plymouth Government adopted certain summary measures. From other sources we find, that this proof was communicated by letters from Boston, where it was probably founded upon rumors gathered from straggling Indians. At all events, no conclusive testimony appears in the case; and it may be plausibly surmised, therefore, that none was ever received, the writers just cited not being remarkably prone to omit matters of this kind. The rumor might originate from circumstances really suspicious; but were this true, and far more, if it were both false and malicious, like the charges against Massasoit, we may well question both the justice and the policy of the steps taken by the Plymouth Government.

'They presently sent for him, to bring him to the court,' says Hubbard,—a very remarkable proceeding, related with a corresponding brevity. The business was intrusted, it also appears, to a gentleman who was neither afraid of danger, nor yet willing to delay in a matter of this moment. We are then told that this gentleman, Mr. Winslow, forthwith taking eight or ten stout men with him, well armed, set out for Sowams; that he fortunately met with Alexander, at a few miles' distance, in a wigwam with eighty of his followers; that they seized upon the arms of the party, which had been left without the wigwam, and then went in and summoned the sachem to attend them to Plymouth. He obeyed, reluctantly, being threatened that 'if he *stirred* or refused to go, he was a dead man.' Such was his spirit, however, adds Hubbard, that the very surprisal of him threw him into a fever. Upon this, he requested liberty to return home, and the favor was granted to him upon certain conditions; but he died upon the way.

This account agrees with Mather's. 'The Government sent that valiant and excellent commander,' says the Reverend Doctor, 'to fetch him down before them. The major-general used such expedition and resolution in this affair, that, assisted with no more than ten men, he seized upon Alexander at a hunting-house, notwithstanding his numerous attendants about him; and when the raging sachem saw a pistol at his breast, with a threatening of death to him if he did not quietly yield himself up to go down to Plymouth, he yielded, though not very quietly, thereunto.' Mather attributes his death, further-

more, to the 'inward fury of his own guilty and haughty mind.' Now, even if the sachem were not compelled to travel faster or further than was decent in his unfortunate situation, as one of our authorities is careful to argue; and granting to the other, that he was treated (on the march) with no other than that humanity and civility, *which was essential to the Major-General*,* it is abundantly clear, we conceive, that a more hot-blooded or high-handed measure could hardly have been executed by the adventurous John Smith himself. The son of Massasoit, and the ruler of a nation who had been forty years in alliance and warm friendship with the Colonists, throughout all their feebleness, and in spite of all jealousies and provocations,—was assaulted in his own territory and among his own subjects, insulted, threatened, and finally forced to obey a summons of his ancient ally to appear before *his* court for his trial. It does not appear that he was even apprised of the occasion which required his attendance. And what is worse than all the rest, the whole proceeding was founded, so far as we ascertain, upon no better testimony than accusations gathered from stragglers at Boston, and then communicated 'by letters' to Plymouth. It must be admitted, that a different coloring is put upon this affair by the Rev. Mr. Cotton, whose relation may be found among the excellent notes appended to Mr. Davis's recent edition of Morton. He states, that the sachem readily consented to attend Winslow; and that he was barely examined before certain justices at Eastham, and dismissed. This account, however, does not much mitigate the essential circumstances of the case; and it admits the fact, that the sachem died within two or three days after being carried home on the shoulders of his men, although the English party seem to have found him in perfect health.

Such was the ignominious death of Alexander, and under such circumstances did the government devolve upon his brother Metacom,—or Philip, as he is generally called,—who seems to have assumed the Pokanoket government, favored by a more than usual popularity; for the event is said to have been celebrated by the rejoicing and revelry of multitudes of his subjects, sachems and others, gathered together, from the remotest limits of his territory. One of his earliest measures,

* Among other civilities, he was offered the use of a horse on the journey, and declined that favor on the ground that some of his women, in the company, were obliged to walk; a fine trait of savage politeness.

was to appear with his uncle before the Plymouth Court, following the example of his father and brother. He expressed an earnest wish for the continuance of peace and amity; and pledged himself,—as the Court did also upon the other hand,—to use all suitable measures for effecting that desirable purpose. For several years after this, the intercourse between the two parties went on, ostensibly, as it had done in former times, though probably not without some distrust upon both sides.

The first public interruption of this harmony occurred in 1671, during which season, Philip was heard to complain openly, of certain encroachments by the English upon his hunting-grounds. About the same time, rumors were circulated that his subjects frequently assembled at various places in unwonted numbers; and were repairing their guns, and sharpening their hatchets. The Plymouth Government were alarmed. They sent messengers to communicate with the Massachusetts Government, and at the same time other messengers to Philip, not 'to fetch him before the Court,' as in the case of his brother, but to ascertain his intentions. He seems to have paid a dignified regard to this measure, for, upon the 13th of April, a message was received from him, inviting the officers of the Plymouth Government to a conference. It was received by the latter at Taunton, where also were several gentlemen, despatched by the Massachusetts Government, with instructions to mediate between the contending parties. Governor Prince, of Plymouth, sent word back to Philip,—who was tarrying meanwhile at what is now called Three-mile-river, about four miles from Taunton green,—that he was heartily disposed to treat with him, and expected that the sachem would come forward for that purpose; and his personal safety was guaranteed in case he should do so. Philip so far complied with this request, as to advance a considerable distance nearer the village. He then stationed himself at a place called Crossman's mill, placed sentinels on a hill in his rear, and again despatched messengers to the Governor, desiring an interview. This, the town's-people, who could scarcely be restrained from falling forthwith upon the Indian party, would not permit. At last, the Massachusetts Commissioners, volunteering to take the supposed hazard upon themselves, went to Philip, and persuaded him to consent to a conference. This was on condition that his men should accompany him; and that the business should be done at the meeting-house, one side of

which was to be reserved for the Wampanoags, and the other for the English.

The council took place agreeably to these shrewd arrangements, in the old meeting-house of Taunton. The English stood upon one side, solemn and stern in countenance, as they were formal in garb; and opposite to them, a line of Indian warriors, armed and arrayed for battle, their long black hair hanging about their necks, and their eyes gleaming covertly with a flame of suspicion and defiance, scarcely to be suppressed. Philip alone was their orator. He denied that he entertained any hostile design; and promptly explained his preparations for war, as intended for defence against the Narraghansetts. The Commissioners rejoined, however, with such arguments and evidence as satisfied themselves and completely surprised him. At least, he affected to admit all that was alleged against him; and though he refused to give compensation for past aggressions, he gave up the muskets of his warriors, to the number of seventy, and with some of his counsellors, subscribed a humble confession of his unfaithfulness, and a solemn renewal of the ancient covenant. This was probably a mere artifice to gain time; nor had it apparently any other effect in reference to impending hostilities, than to hasten them by increasing the ill-will of the Indians. But whether Philip was preparing for war or not, he was not yet prepared for it. He went to Boston, therefore, during the month of August, knowing the Massachusetts Government to be more friendly to him than the Plymouth; and although letters had arrived that very day from the latter place, announcing an intention of declaring war against Philip forthwith, the cunning sachem had the art to persuade the Boston Commissioners of his entire innocence. They sent a proposal to Plymouth for a new council to settle all difficulties. This being declined, they immediately gave their opinion that Plymouth would not be justified in making war. Staggered by this declaration, the Government of the Old Colony consented to try the effect of a second mediation; and a conference of all parties soon after took place at Plymouth. Here Philip and his counsellors signed an agreement, which, so far as a mere agreement of his could go under present circumstances, must have been satisfactory. The concessions contained in it, indeed, are sufficient to throw no little doubt over the motives of Philip; for he acknowledged himself subject to

the English Government; promised to apply to the Governor of Plymouth personally, in case of any complaint; and was meanwhile to pay a hundred pounds *in such things as he had*, besides sending in what may be called a *tribute* of five wolves' heads yearly.

The success of this stratagem, if such it were, answered the purpose of the sachem as completely as he could have expected; for although he does not appear to have killed one wolf, or paid one cent, even 'in such things as he had,' nothing occurred for three years, to rouse the suspicions of the Colonies. There can scarcely be a doubt, that during all this time,—if not for a longer time previous,—the sachem was maturing one of the grandest plans ever conceived by any savage;—that of utterly exterminating the English of the northern provinces. This, he was well aware, could only be done by means commensurate with the danger and difficulty of the enterprise. The Colonies were no longer the feeble and timid allies, known fifty years before to his father. They had grown in numbers and in strength; and still more in experience and spirit. Nothing less, in a word, than a general union of the New-England tribes, who lived among and around them all, would furnish a safe guarantee for the complete success of such a war as was now meditated. To this great preparation, then, the whole energies of Philip must be devoted. It was as difficult, he well knew, as it was desirable. The ruler of one small confederacy,—already suspected, and constantly under the close scrutiny of his powerful neighbors,—he must take measures with his own passionate and provoked followers, as he must in his own bosom, at once to check hostility for the present, and to cherish it for the future. Far more than this, he must unite and interest in one common object, a multitude of scattered nations who had met and known each other, until this time, only in jealousy, envy, revenge, and in many cases hereditary and inveterate war; and among whose councils no similar plan, for any purpose whatever, had ever been conceived of. How far Philip surmounted these obstacles, will be seen. The great train of events we are approaching, are so interesting both as a passage of general history, and still more, as they implicate and illustrate the character of Philip, that it may be proper to take some notice of the causes which gave rise to them. It is well known, that his English contemporaries looked upon him, very generally, with

feelings far from benevolent. It was natural under the circumstances that they should do so; but it is no more necessary, than it is philosophical or just, on the other hand, to confide implicitly either in their opinions or their statements. Philip and his Wampanoags are unlucky enough, like the lion in the fable, to have no painter.

It should be observed here, that Philip unquestionably considered himself an ally and not a subject of the English;—at least, until his nominal submission in 1671. Even the same authorities who record this submission, speak of his *renewing* his ancient covenant, (as indeed the instrument itself shows.) A distinct article recognizes Massasoit as an independent sovereign. Philip, then, held the same relation to the English, that his father and brother had done for the fifty years, during which the two parties had treated and associated upon equal and intimate terms. He was bound by the same engagements, and possessed of the same rights; and it only remains to be seen, if due regard was paid to these circumstances upon either side.

Now, we look upon the assault of Alexander, in 1662, in the first place, as not only a sufficient cause of suspicion and resentment, but of war; and that, upon the best construction which can be put upon the most favorable of the *ex-parte* relations which appear upon record. By the old treaty itself, which Alexander also took the gratuitous trouble to *renew*,—and without any reference to courtesy or humanity, or to national fidelity, or to personal friendship, existing up to this date,—the English were bound generally to treat him as an allied sovereign, and especially to make a preliminary demand of satisfaction, in all cases of complaint. We have seen that the charge brought against him in 1662,—vague and unsupported as it was,—was not even explained to the sachem, previously to his being taken from his own territory by an armed force, and carried before an English Justice of the Peace. In no other instance does the Plymouth Colony seem to have exercised an authority of this nature, even over the meanest subjects of the sachem. 'Inasmuch as complaint is made, that many Indians pass into divers places of this jurisdiction,' say the records of the Colony for 1660, 'it is enacted that no strange or foreign Indians be permitted to become residents, and "that *notice be given to the several sagamores to prevent the same.*"' A remark might be made upon the policy of laws like these, so far

as the Pokanokets were concerned; as also of the acts of 1652 and 1653, which prohibited the sale of casks, barques, boats and horses, to the Indians, besides providing a punishment for such of them, resident in the Colony, as should violate the Christian sabbath, or discharge their guns in the night-time. But these regulations the Government had an undoubted right to make, as Massasoit and Philip had possessed a right,—which, however, they were complaisant enough to relinquish,—of selling their own lands to purchasers of their own choosing.

Such was the state of things previous to the submission of 1671. With regard to this, it is quite clear that, even if Philip were made to understand the instrument, which it is well known he could not read, he could look upon it only as an insult, imposed upon him under circumstances amounting to duress. Independently of any force, too, he must have thought himself justified, by the manifest disposition and the summary measures of the English, in availing himself of any stratagem to lull suspicion and to gain time. He might or might not, at this period or before, have meditated acting offensively against them, in revenge of the indignity suffered by his brother and his nation; but it was certainly both prudent and patriotic in him, to put himself on the defensive. He had a right, it appears to us, both to drill his own people in martial exercises, and to make alliances with his Indian neighbors.

It might have been a safe policy in the Plymouth Government, to have considered these things, in regard at least to what they might call the jealous and barbarous prejudices of the Indians, before proceeding to extremities with either Alexander or Philip. On the contrary, while they enacted laws, and encouraged accusations, and took the execution of the penalty of them into their own hands, they used no means to conciliate Philip, but sending for him to appear before 'the Plymouth Court.' Whether they were cautious in all other respects after this time to avoid offence, it is not to be expected that history should enable us to determine. We find, however, that certain of the Colonists, in 1673, took upon them to negotiate treaties for land with private subjects of Philip; and there is no reason to doubt, that they entered and took possession accordingly. As the sachems are known to have been as tenacious of their territory in claim, as they were liberal of it in disposal, it may well be conceived that this first instance of a similar nature upon record, should occasion Philip no little

dissatisfaction. In imitation of the English courtesy, he might have despatched Nimrod, Tobias, Woonkaponcpunt, or some other of his 'valiant and excellent' majors-general to 'fetch down' the offending grantees to Sowams. He seems to have taken no express notice of the affair. But that he understood his territorial rights, is apparent from the singular communication which follows. It is preserved in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, (volume second of the first series,) as precisely copied from the original, which is still preserved at Plymouth.

'King Philip desire to let you understand that he could not come to the Court, for Tom, his interpreter, has a pain in his back, that he could not travel so far, and Philip sister is very sik.

'Philip would intreat that favor of you, and aney of the magistrats if *aney English or Engians speak about aney land, he pray you to give them no answer at all.* This last summer he made that promis with you, that he would not sell no land in 7 years time, *for that he would have no English trouble him before that time*, he has not forgot that you promis him.

'He will come as soon as possible as he can to speak with you, and so I rest, you very loving friend, Philip, dwelling at mount hope nek.'

This unique letter is addressed 'To the much honered Governer, Mr. Thomas Prince, dwelling at Plymouth.' As Philip himself could neither read nor write, the honor of the orthography and construction must be attributed to the infirm interpreter. But the sentiments are worthy of the sachem himself, and they certainly manifest a mingled civility and independence which do him great credit. No date is affixed to the letter. If it do not refer to the transaction just mentioned, it was probably prompted by some other of the same description. The interest which the sachem felt in cases of this kind, is apparent from one of his own conveyances, made in 1668. It was of a tract included within the present limits of Rochester, upon the sea-shore. He drafted an accurate plan of it with his own hand, (still preserved upon the records of the Old Colony) and forwarded it to the Court, with the following explanation.

'This may inform the honorable Court,' we read, 'that I, Philip, am willing to sell the land within this draught, but the Indians that are upon it may live upon it still; but the land that is mine that is sold, and Watashpoo is of the same mind.

I have put down all the principal names of the land we are now willing should be sold.' Watashpoo was probably one of the occupants, chiefly interested in the case. The letter ends thus; 'Know all Men by these Presents, That Philip has given power unto Watashpoo, and Sampson, and their brethren, to hold and make sale of said land to whom they will,' &c. This letter must have been sent in compliance with some request from his Plymouth friends. It is dated at Pocanauket; subscribed by the capital P, which was the sachem's mark; and attested, and no doubt written, by his secretary, John Sassamon.

This Sassamon is distinguished in history as having been the immediate occasion of the first open hostilities. He was born in some family of praying Indians, and after receiving a tolerable education at Cambridge and other places, was employed as a school-master at Natick. The composition above cited rather supports Hubbard's remark, that he was a 'cunning and plausible Indian, well skilled in the English language.' This writer says, that he left the English on account of some misdemeanor. Mather states, that 'apostatizing from the profession of Christianity, he lived like a heathen, in the quality of secretary to King Philip.' He adds, that he afterwards deserted the sachem, and gave such notable evidences of repentance, as to be employed in preaching among the Indians at Natick, under the eye of his old instructer, the venerable Eliot. This was another of the provocations which must have annoyed Philip. Hubbard states expressly, that Sassamon was importunately urged to forsake him; and it appears from other sources, that there had previously been such an entire confidence between the two, that the Secretary was intrusted with all the secrets of his master. The provocation went still farther. Sassamon, either having or pretending to have some occasion to go among the Pokanokets frequently, availed himself of this opportunity to scrutinize their movements, and to report them as he thought proper to the English. In consequence of this, Philip and some of his subjects were 'examined,' we are told, but nothing definite was learned from them. Soon after, Sassamon disappeared; and as he had expressed some well-founded fears of meeting with a violent death in the course of these manœuvres, his friends were alarmed. They commenced a search, and finally found his dead body in Assawomset pond, (in Middle-

borough) where a hole in the ice, through which he had been thrust, was still open, and his hat and gun left near by, as if he had drowned himself. 'Furthermore,' says Mather, 'upon the jealousies of the spirits of men that he might have met with some foul play, a jury was empanelled, unto whom it appeared that his neck was broken, *which is one Indian way of murdering.*' The next step of the Plymouth Government was to seize upon three Pokanoket Indians, on the testimony of a fourth, '*found*,' says Hubbard, '*by a strange providence.*' This man swore that he had seen the murder committed from a hill near the pond. It must be inferred that he swore to the identity of the prisoners, for it appears they were convicted from 'his undeniable testimony and other circumstances,' and forthwith hanged. Whatever may be said of the *legal*, the *moral* probability certainly is, that they were guilty. They were probably appointed to execute the judgment of Philip upon Sassamon, one of them being Tobias, a man of some distinction. At all events, Philip must have thought himself justified in taking this summary measure with a vagabond who was mean enough to avail himself, as Sassamon did, of being tolerated in *his* territory after having betrayed his confidence, and, apparently, for the very purpose of following up his own treason. But however this might be, the Colonists were but too ready, throughout these transactions, to believe any thing and every thing which supported a charge against Philip. One of the undeniable circumstances is, probably, stated by Mather. The dead body bled afresh, says the Doctor, on the approach of Tobias, 'yea, upon the repetition of the experiment, it still happened so,' albeit he had been deceased and interred for a considerable while before. This is truly remarkable.

It is universally agreed, that from this time Philip took no great pains either to conceal his own hostility, or to check that of his subjects. It would be incredible that he should. He remembered what had happened to his brother in a much more peaceable period; and, as several historians intimate, he must actually have apprehended 'the danger his own head was in next.' The Pokanokets mustered around him from all quarters, and every preparation was made for the impending crisis. This is supposed to have been prematurely brought on, indeed, by *their* ungovernable fury. They had not all the power of enduring provocation with the reservation of revenge;

and a party of them expressed their feelings so intolerably, just after the execution of their three countrymen, that a Swanzey man discharged his musket at one of them and wounded him. This was the commencement of hostilities, June 24th, 1675. 'So that now,' in the words of the reverend annalist last cited, 'war was begun by a fierce nation of Indians upon an honest, harmless, Christian generation of English, who might very truly have said unto the aggressors, as it was of old said unto the Ammonites, *I have not sinned against thee, but thou doest me wrong to war against me.*' Such was the persuasion, we suppose, of a large majority of the contemporary countrymen of the learned divine.

The war was now promptly undertaken, at all events. A letter was sent to Philip, in the month of June, which, of course, did no good; applications were also made to the Massachusetts Government for immediate assistance; forces were raised and stationed throughout the Colony; and matters very soon after proceeded to a length which made compromise or conciliation impossible. We do not intend to give the well-known particulars of this celebrated war. It is sufficient to observe, that it was carried on for more than a year with a violence, and amid an excitement unparalleled, perhaps, in the history of the country; and that it terminated with the death of Philip, late in the season of 1676. The result of it was decisive, as the sachem was well aware that it would be, of the fate of the New England Indians. The Pokanokets were nearly exterminated. The Narraghansetts lost about one thousand of their number in the celebrated swamp-fight at Sunke-Squaw. All the Indians on the Connecticut river, and most of the Nipmucks who survived, fled to Canada, (where they were subsequently of great service to the French) and a few hundreds took refuge in New York. The English detachment of Captain Church alone, are estimated to have killed about seven hundred between June and October of 1676. Large numbers of those who were captured were sent out of the country, and sold as slaves. But the triumph of the conqueror was dearly bought. The whole fighting force of the four Colonies seems to have been almost constantly in requisition. Between one and two thousand men were engaged at the swamp-fight alone, —an immense force for a population of scarcely forty thousand English throughout New England. Thirteen towns were entirely destroyed by the enemy; six hundred dwelling-houses

burned; and about the same number of Englishmen killed, so that almost every family lost a relative. The mere expense of the war must have been very great; for the Commissioners of the United Colonies afterwards estimated the disbursements of the Old Colony alone, at more than one hundred thousand pounds.

Such was the war King Philip sustained and managed, upon his side, by his own single-handed energy and talent. Not that the sixty Wampanoags of the sachem's own household, as it were, or even the various tribes of the Pokanoket country, were his sole supporters; but that all the other tribes, which supported him, did it in consequence of his influence, and were induced to unite and operate together, as they never had done before, under his control. Some writers have asserted, that he engaged the various Atlantic tribes as far south as Virginia to assist him; but of this there is no proof, and it is rendered improbable by the great want of inter-communication among these tribes. Nor is it true, as other writers have stated, that all the natives of New England itself were involved with Philip. On the other hand, it was the most trying circumstance of the great struggle of the sachem, that he had not only to rely upon bringing and keeping together scores of petty cantons, as jealous of each other from time immemorial as so many Highland clans; but he had to watch and resist, openly and secretly, all who would not join him, besides the multitudes who deserted, betrayed and opposed him. The New Hampshire tribes mostly withdrew from the contest. The praying Indians, of whom there were then thousands, either remained neutral, or like Sassamon turned against their own race. One of Philip's own tribes forsook him in his misfortunes; and the Pequots and Mohegans of Connecticut kept the field against him from the very first day of the war to the last. It may be supposed, that some of these tribes were surprised, as Philip himself was, by the sudden breaking out of the war, a year before the time which had been fixed for it. This was occasioned by the proceedings in which Sassamon was concerned, and by the ungovernable fury of a few of the young warriors.

Philip is said to have wept at these tidings of the first outrage of the war. He relented, perhaps, savage as he was, at the idea of disturbing the long amity which his father had preserved; but he may well have regretted, certainly, that being once forced upon the measure, he should enter the

battle-field unprepared for what he well knew must be the last, as it was the first, great contest between the red men and the whites. But the die was cast, and though Philip never smiled after that memorable hour just alluded to, his whole soul was bent upon the business before him. Day nor night, scarcely was there rest for his limbs or sleep for his eyes. His resources must have been feeble enough, had his plans, now embarrassed, succeeded to his utmost wish; but he girded himself, as it was, with a proud heart for the mortal struggle. The strength of his own dominions was about six hundred warriors, ready, and more than ready, long since, for the war-cry. The whole force of his old enemies, the Narraghansetts, was already engaged to him. He had negotiated, also, with the Nipmucks and the tribes on the Connecticut and farther west, and one after another, these were soon induced to join him. Nor was it six weeks from the first hostilities, before all the Indians along the coast of Maine, for a distance of two hundred miles, were eagerly engaged, in what Philip told them was the common cause of the race. That no arts might be left untried, even while the court were condemning his three subjects, he was holding a grand war-dance at Sowams, and mustering his tawny warriors around him from all quarters. Several tribes afterwards confessed to the English, that Philip had thus inveigled them into the war. And again, no sooner were his forces driven back upon the Connecticut-river tribes, about the first of September, 1675, than he enlisted new allies among *them*. The Hadley Indians, who had joined the English,—very likely at his instigation,—were suspected, and fled to him. Their Springfield neighbors, soon after, joined three hundred of Philip's men, in an attack upon that town; and thus the whole Nipmuck country was involved. In the course of the ensuing winter, the sachem is said to have visited the Mohawks in New York. Not succeeding in gaining their alliance by fair argument, he was desperate enough to kill some of their straggling young men in the woods, in such a manner that the blame would obviously be charged upon the English. But this stratagem was defeated, by the escape of one who had only been stunned by the sachem. The latter was obliged to take abrupt leave of his hosts; and from that time, they were among his worst enemies.

His situation during the last few months of the war, was so deplorable, and yet his exertions so well sustained, that we can

only look upon him with pity and admiration. His successes for some time past had been tremendous; but the tide began to ebb. The whole power of the Colonies was in the field, aided by guides and scouting-parties of his own race. The Saconets, the subjects of a near relation of his own, enlisted under Church. Other tribes complained and threatened. Their territory, as well as his, had been over-run, their settlements destroyed, and their planting and fishing-grounds all occupied by the English. Those of them who were not yet hunted down, were day and night followed into swamps and forests, and reduced to live,—if they did not actually starve or freeze,—upon the least and worst food to be conceived of. Hundreds died of diseases incurred in this manner. 'I have eaten horse,' said one of these miserable wretches, 'but now horse is eating me.' Another informed Church, on one occasion, that about three hundred Indians had gone a long way to Swanzey, in the heat of the war, for the purpose of eating clams, and that Philip was soon to follow them. At another time, the valiant captain himself captured a large party. Finding it convenient to attack a second directly after, he bade the first wait for him, and join him at a certain rendezvous. The day after the skirmish, 'they came to him as they were ordered,' and he drove them all together, that very night, into Bridgewater *pound*, and set his Saconet soldiers to guard them. 'Being well treated with victuals and drink,' he adds, with great simplicity, 'they had a merry night, and the prisoners laughed as loud as the soldiers; *not being so treated for a long time before.*' The mere physical sufferings of Philip, meanwhile, are almost incredible. It is by his hair-breadth escapes, indeed, that he is chiefly visible during the war. Occasionally, the English come close upon him; he starts up, like the roused lion, plunges into the river or leaps the precipice; and nothing more is seen of him for months. Only a few weeks after the war commenced, he was surrounded in the great Pocasset swamp, and obliged to escape from his vigilant enemies by rafting himself, with his best men, over the great Taunton river, while their women and children were left to be captured. On his return to the same neighborhood, the next season, a captive guided the English to his encampment. Philip fled in such haste as to leave his kettle upon the fire; twenty of his comrades were overtaken and killed; and he himself escaped to the swamp, precisely as he had

formerly escaped from it. Here his uncle was shot soon afterwards at his side. Upon the next day, Church, discovering an Indian seated on a fallen tree, made to answer the purpose of a bridge over the river, raised his musket and deliberately aimed at him. 'It is one of our own party,' whispered a savage, who crept behind him. Church lowered his gun, and the stranger turned his head. It was Philip himself, musing perhaps, upon the fate which awaited him. Church fired, but his royal enemy had already fled down the bank. He escaped from a close and bloody skirmish a few hours afterwards.

He was now a desolate and desperate man, the last prince of an ancient race, without subjects, without territory, accused by his allies, betrayed by his comrades, hunted like a spent deer by blood-hounds; in daily hazard of famishing, and with no shelter day or night for his head. All his chief counsellors and best friends had been killed. His brother was slain in the Pocasset swamp; his uncle was shot down at his own side; and his wife and only son were captured when he himself so narrowly escaped from the fire of Church. And could he have fled for the last time from the soil of his own country, he would still have found no rest or refuge. He had betaken himself once to a place between York and Albany; but even here, as Church says, the *Moohags* made a descent upon him and killed many of his men. His next kennelling-place was at the fall of Connecticut river, (above Deerfield,) where, some time after, 'Captain Turner found him, came upon him by night, killed a great many men, and frightened many more into the river, that were hunted down the falls and drowned.' He lost three hundred men at this time. They were in their encampments, asleep and unguarded. The English rushed upon them, and they fled in every direction, half-awakened, and crying out, 'Mohawks! Mohawks!'

We cannot better illustrate Philip's character, than by observing, that within a few days of this affair, he was collecting the remnants of the Narraghansetts and Nipmucks among the Wachuset hills, on the east side of the river; that they then made a descent upon Sudbury; 'met with and *swallowed up the valiant Captain Wadsworth and his company*;* and many

* This strong expression of the Captain's may refer to the really savage treatment which the unfortunate prisoners met with in this case. We have it on the authority of Mather, at least, that those 'devils

other doleful desolations in those parts.' We also find, that Philip was setting parties to waylay Church, under his own worst circumstances; and that he came very near succeeding. He is thought to have been at the great swamp-fight in December, 1675; and to have led one thousand Indians against Lancaster on the ensuing 8th of February. In August of the former season, he made his appearance among the Nipmucks, in a swamp ten or twelve miles from Brookfield. 'They told him at his first coming,' said one of them who was taken captive, 'what they had done to the English at Brookfield [burning the town.] '*Then he presented and gave to three sagamores*, namely, John *alias* Apequinast, Quanansit, and Mawtamps, to each of them *about a peck of unstrung wampum.*'* Even so late as the month before the sachem's death, a negro, who had fought under him, informed the English of his design of attacking certain towns, being still able to muster something like a thousand men. In his last and worst days, he would not think of peace; and he killed with his own hand, upon the spot, the only Indian who ever dared to propose it. It was the brother of this man by whom he was himself soon after slain.

These are clear proofs, then, that Philip possessed a courage as noble as his intellect. Nor is there any doubt that history would have furnished a long list of his personal exploits, but that his situation compelled him to disguise as well as conceal himself. If any thing but his face had been known, there was nothing to prevent Church from shooting him, as we have seen. And universally influential as he was,—the master-spirit every where guiding, encouraging, soothing and rewarding,—it is a fact worthy of mention, that from the time of his first flight from Pocasset until a few weeks before his death, no Englishman could say, that he had either seen his countenance or heard his voice. Hence Church describes him as being always foremost in the flight. The price put upon his head, the fearful power which pursued him, the circumstance that

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incarnate' inflicted a variety of tortures not necessary to be enlarged upon here; 'and so with exquisite, leisurely, horrible torments, roasted them out of the world.' *History of New England*, Book VII. p. 55. London Ed. 1702.

* Note to Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts. Mather says, that these very Indians had covenanted by a formal treaty, a month before, that they would not assist Philip.

some of his own acquaintance were against him, and especially the vital importance of his life to his cause, all made it indispensable for him to adopt every stratagem of the wary and cunning warfare of his race.

We have said something of Philip's ideas of his own sovereign dignity. Hence the fate of Sassamon, and of the savage who proposed peace. There is a well settled tradition, that in 1665 he went over to the island of Nantucket, with the view of killing an Indian called John Gibbs. He landed on the west end, intending to travel along the shore, undiscovered, under the bank, to that part of the island where Gibbs resided. By some lucky accident, the latter received a hint of his approach, made his escape to the English settlement, and induced one Mr. Macy to conceal him. His crime consisted in speaking the name of some deceased relative of Philip (his brother, perhaps,) contrary to Indian etiquette in such cases provided. The English held a parley with the sachem, and all the money they were able to collect was barely sufficient to satisfy him for the life of the culprit. It was not a mere personal insult, but a violation of the reverence due from a subject to his king. It appears, that when he visited Boston, before the war, he succeeded in persuading the Government,—as, no doubt, was the truth of the case,—that notwithstanding the old league of his father, renewed by himself, or rather by force of it, he was still independent of Plymouth. 'These successive engagements were agreements of amity, and not of subjection any further, as he apprehended.' He then desired to see a copy of the treaty, and requested that one might be procured for him. He knew, he added, that the praying Indians had submitted to the English; but the Pokanokets had done no such thing, and were not subject. The letter of the Massachusetts to the Plymouth Government, written just after this interview with the sachem, is well worthy of notice. 'We do not understand,' say the former, 'how far he hath subjected himself to you; but the treatment you have given him, does not render him such a subject, as that, if there be not present answering to summons, there should presently be a proceeding to hostilities.' Philip had himself the same notion of a Plymouth *summons;* and yet either policy or good feeling induced him to *visit* the Plymouth Governor, in March, 1775, for the purpose of quieting the suspicions of the Colony; nothing was discovered against him, and he returned home. He maintained privately the

same frank but proud independence. He was opposed to Christianity as much as his father was, and would make no concessions upon that point. Possibly the remembrance of Sassamon might have rankled in his bosom, who, upon the venerable Eliot once undertaking to convert him, took one of his buttons between his fingers, and told him he cared no more for the Gospel than for that button. That he was generally more civil, however, may be inferred from Gookin's statement; 'I have heard him speak very good words, arguing that his conscience is convicted, &c.'* The sachem evidently made himself agreeable in this case.

Philip was far from being a mere barbarian in his manners and feelings. There is not an instance to be met with, of his having maltreated a captive in any way, even while the English were selling his own people as slaves abroad, or torturing and hanging them at home. The famous Mrs. Rowlandson speaks of meeting with him during her *doleful* captivity. He invited her to call at his lodge; and when she did so, bade her sit down, and asked her if she would smoke. On meeting her again, he requested her to make some garment for his child, and for this he paid her a shilling. He afterwards took the trouble of visiting her for the purpose of assuring her, that 'in a fortnight she should be her own mistress.' Her last interview, it must be allowed, shows his shrewdness to rather more advantage than his fair dealing. It was Indian stratagem in war time, however; and the half-clad sachem was at this very time living upon ground-nuts, acorns, and lily-roots. 'Philip,' we are informed, 'smelling the business, [her ransom,] called me to him, and asked me what I would give him to tell me some good news, and to speak a good word for me, that I might go home to-morrow. I told him I could not tell,—but any thing I had,—and asked him what he would have. He said two coats, and twenty shillings in money, half a bushel of seed-corn, and some tobacco. *I thanked him for his love, but I knew that good news as well as that crafty fox.*' It is probable he was amusing himself with this good woman, much as he did with the worthy Mr. Gookin; but at all events, there are no traces of malevolent feeling in these simple anecdotes. What is more striking, we find that when one James Brown, of Swanzey, brought him a letter from Plymouth, just before

* Historical Collections, Chapter VIII.

hostilities commenced, and the young warriors were upon the point of killing him, Philip interfered and prevented it, saying, that 'his father had charged him to show kindness to Mr. Brown.' Accordingly, we find it recorded in Hubbard, that a little before *his* death, the old sachem had visited Mr. Brown, who lived not far from Montaup, and earnestly desired that the love and amity *he* had received, might be continued to the children. It was probably this circumstance, which induced Brown himself, to engage in his present hazardous enterprize, after an interval, probably, of some twenty years. Nor should we pass over the kindness of Philip to the Leonard family, who resided near Fowling Pond, in what is now Raynham. Philip, who wintered at Montaup,—for the convenience of fishing, perhaps,—was accustomed to spend the summer at a hunting-house, by this pond. There he became intimate with the Leonards, traded with them, and had his arms repaired by them frequently. On the breaking out of the war, he gave strict orders that these men should never be hurt, as they never were. And, indeed, it is a singular fact, that the whole town of Taunton,—as it then was,—remained entirely unmolested throughout the war, and amid all the ravages and massacres which daily took place upon its very borders. How much of provocation and humiliation he was himself enduring all this time, we have already seen. All his relations were killed or captured, and a price set upon his own life.

It is a matter of melancholy interest to know, that the sachem, wretched and hopeless as he had become in his last days, was still surrounded by a band of his faithful and affectionate followers. At the very moment of his fatal surprise by the English, he is said to have been telling them of his gloomy dreams,* and advising them to desert him and provide for their own safety. A few minutes after this, he was shot in attempting to escape from the swamp. An Englishman,—one Cook,—aimed at him, but his gun missed fire; the Indian who was stationed to watch at the same place, discharged *his*

* The violent prejudice existing against Philip, unmitigated even by his sufferings and death, appears singularly in a parenthetical surmise of Hubbard, 'whether the devil appeared to him that night in a dream, foreboding his tragical end, *it matters not.*' So Mather says, he was hung up like *Ahag*, after being shot through his 'venomous and murderous heart.' Church, generally an honorable and humane man, speaks of his fallen foe, in terms which we regard his reputation too much to repeat.

musket, and shot him through the heart. The news of this success was of course received with great satisfaction; Church says, that 'the whole army gave three loud huzzas.' It is to be regretted that the honest captain suffered his prejudices to carry him so far, that he denied the rites of burial to his great enemy. He had him quartered, on the contrary, and his head carried to Plymouth, where, as Mather is careful to tell us, it arrived on the very day when the church there were keeping a solemn thanksgiving. The conqueror's temper was soured by the illiberality of the Government toward himself. For this march he received but four and sixpence a man, together with thirty shillings a head for the killed. He observes that Philip's head went at the same price, and he thought it a 'scanty reward and poor encouragement.' The sachem's head was carried about the Colony in triumph; and the Indian who killed him was rewarded with one of his hands. To finish the wretched detail, his belt, powder-horn and other royalties were soon after given up by one of his chief captains; and the lock of the gun which was fatal to him, with a *samp*-dish found in his wigwam, are still to be seen among the antiquities of the Historical Society of this State. Montaup, which became the subject of a dispute between the Massachusetts and Plymouth Colonies, was finally awarded to the latter by a special decision of King Charles. Last and worst of all, his only son, a boy of nine years of age, whom we have already mentioned as among the English captives, was sold as a slave and shipped to Bermuda. It should be stated, however, that this unfortunate measure was not taken without some scruples. The Plymouth Court were so much perplexed upon the occasion, as to conclude upon applying to the clergymen of the Colony for advice. Mr. Cotton was of opinion that 'the children of notorious traitors, rebels, and murderers, especially such as have been principal leaders and actors in such horrid villanies, might be involved in the guilt of their parents, and might, *salva republica*, be adjudged *to death*.' Dr. Increase Mather compared the child to Hadad, whose father was killed by Joab; and he intimates, that if Hadad himself had not escaped, David would have taken measures to prevent his molesting the next generation. It is gratifying to know, that the course he recommended was postponed, even to the ignominious and mortifying one we have mentioned.

Such was the impression which had been universally forced

upon the Colonists by the terrible spirit of Philip; and never was a civilized or an uncivilized enemy more generally or more justly feared. How much greater his success might have been, had circumstances favored, instead of opposing him, it is fortunately impossible for us to estimate. It is confessed, however, that had even the Narraghansetts joined him during the first summer of the war,—as nothing but the abrupt commencement of it prevented them from doing,—the whole country, from the Piscataqua to the Sound, must have been over-swept and desolated. But as it was, Philip did and endured enough to immortalize him as a warrior, a statesman, and we may add, as a high-minded and noble patriot. Whatever might be the prejudice against him in the days of terror produced by his prowess, there are both the magnanimity and the calmness in these times, to do him the justice he deserves. He fought and fell,—miserably, indeed, but gloriously,—the avenger of his own household, the worshipper of his own gods, the guardian of his own honor, a martyr for the soil which was his birth-place, and the proud liberty which was his birth-right.

Art. VI.—*Diplomatic Correspondence of the Revolution.*

The Diplomatic Correspondence of the American Revolution; being the Letters of Benjamin Franklin, Silas Deane, John Adams, John Jay, Arthur Lee, William Lee, Ralph Izard, Francis Dana, William Carmichael, Henry Laurens, John Laurens, M. Dumas, and others, concerning the foreign relations of the United States, during the whole Revolution; together with the Letters in Reply, from the Secret Committee of Congress and the Secretary of Foreign Affairs; also, the entire Correspondence of the French Ministers Gerard and Luzerne, with Congress. Published under the direction of the President of the United States, from the original manuscripts in the Department of State, conformably to a Resolution of Congress of March 27th, 1818. Edited by Jared Sparks. In twelve volumes octavo. Boston. N. Hale and Gray & Bowen. G. & C. & H. Carvill, New York; P. Thompson, Washington. 1829—1830.

This is a work of great importance for the history of the Revolution. It is a store-house of new materials. If it does not

bring forth many positively new results, it discloses new details, and furnishes new illustrations of points before known only in the general. It is a book which ought first to be read cursorily, for a comprehensive survey of its contents, and then laid aside for frequent recurrence and habitual study. No library of American history can dispense with it; no American statesman can creditably remain ignorant of its contents. It is a great and important work, long called for and wanted; and at last ably prepared for the public.

Let all those, if any there are, who have not yet fully comprehended the *miracle* of the American Revolution, read this work; we do not mean, to get the solution of this miracle, but to comprehend how truly and literally it was one. The history of the Revolution is more commonly read in reference to the operations of the army and the deliberations of Congress at home. There we see and feel the great difficulties, which were to be encountered; inexperienced and distracted counsels; an imperfect Constitution; an ill paid, constantly changing, and at last partially disaffected army; and a powerful foe, commanding the sea and firmly lodged upon the strongest point of the coast. We are apt to fix upon the French alliance, as the offset to these appalling difficulties, as the great and main stay of the patriots, and so it was. But we need only turn over the pages of these volumes to learn the truth, that this alliance itself was brought about and rendered effective under embarrassments as distressing, as the great event of the Revolution itself. The alliance saved the United States; but how hardly was the alliance itself formed, and how often did it seem impossible to realize its fruits! The rarest conjuncture of persons and things was requisite, and did in fact exist, but accompanied, at the same time, by other agents so ill qualified, and other events so untoward, that it would seem as if the Good and Evil Genius of America had each his alternate day assigned him, in controlling the march of things. In a word, it makes one, who loves his country,—one who has a mind to comprehend, and a heart to feel the worth of the blessings we inherit,—actually become grave and even melancholy to read this book. Mr. Morris, in an extract from his diary, (with several of which the volumes containing his Correspondence are enriched,) relates that, when the English standards, captured at Yorktown, were borne in triumph through the streets of Philadelphia, the members of Congress who witnessed this gratifying display, were

rather touched with feelings of solemnity than of exultation. It is impossible to dismiss the same serious impression, in contemplating the perilous exposures of our interests in Europe, and the happy issue of counsels oftentimes the most ill advised, discordant, and rash; or when wise and seasonable, not unfrequently dashed by unfortunate execution.

We know there is a just delicacy and a fastidious timidity in speaking on these themes. We shall preserve this delicacy, but not yield to any unbecoming timidity, in telling the truth. Let poetry and romance tell their tale of the Revolution. It will bear all their ornaments;—it deserves them all. Its incidents and its actors are worthy of the highest and most flattering strain of panegyric. It is fit that they should thus be commemorated. It is yet rather too soon to do it; but they are to constitute our heroic age; and one on which, we trust, the minds of a late posterity will more fondly dwell, than classical Greece could dwell on the sickening horrors of 'Thebes' or Pelops' line.'

But this *is* the province of Poetry and Romance. It is their business to idealize the statues which they erect in the temple of Renown; to redeem men from their imperfections; to throw a rich purple robe of glory over their faults, to smooth away the lines, which care has planted in their faded cheeks, and to give them the vigorous port, and roseate bloom of demi-gods. But this is not the business of history. Her work is graver, aye, sadder. It is her business neither to flatter nor to delight; but to instruct. It is her business to tell the truth; to tell it calmly, dispassionately, charitably, but fearlessly; to pass sentence on character, like a merciful, but righteous judge. The history of the American Revolution has not yet been so told; it cannot yet be. We are too near the age. Some of those concerned in it are still among us; we cannot in decency disturb the tranquillity of their decline, by re-producing their dissensions. Or where the original actors have passed off the stage, as nearly all the most distinguished have done, their kindred remain, whose family affections are sacred. But in proportion to the delicacy, with which we ought to approach the task of awarding the meed of praise to those of the distinguished actors of the Revolution, who were at variance with each other during their own life-time, ought to be the satisfaction, with which we welcome those collections of original letters and other documents, of which several have lately been

published, and of which this is by far the most considerable. In these documents alone, the secret, that is, the true history of the Revolution is concerned.

The fate of the Revolution was decided by the French alliance. We do not mean to agitate a question of metaphysical politics, whether our Independence would have failed to be established by any other agency; nor merely to repeat a truism from the schools, that nothing can happen otherwise than it does. But we mean to say, that without the subsidies and aids obtained from France, at an early period of the Revolution, and the subsequent co-operation of her armies and navies, the war of the Revolution could not have been brought to a successful issue. It is impossible to deny this, on any other ground, than that of vague patriotic sentiment, which would lead us to insist that the righteous cause always prospers; the contrary of which we know to be true.

But notwithstanding the great importance of the French alliance, in the revolutionary war, it was brought about with perhaps less preparation, than might have been expected. If courts have the fondness for intrigue ascribed to them, it must nevertheless be admitted, that in this case, the French court had practised a remarkable forbearance toward the English colonies on the North-American coast. Here were twelve or thirteen distant settlements, dependent on England. They were established upon a continent, on which France also had founded colonies; where she had also vast territorial possessions, which, wrested from her at the close of a former war, had passed into the hands of the English and Spaniards. The French are, it is known, a people peculiarly apt at forming relations at a distance; although, if we draw an inference from history, we should conclude them to be less successful in keeping up than in originating such relations. But the eyes of the French Government had never been withdrawn from our continent; and the wars of 1744 and 1755, although extending to other states and other interests, had their origin in the struggles between England and France, in reference to their possessions in America. The breaking out of general hostilities in 1755, was produced by General Washington's expedition to the Ohio. The peace of 1763, as is well known, cost France her possessions on the continent of North America.

Scarcely had this peace been concluded, when the political controversy between the English colonies and the British

Government assumed a serious aspect. Mr. Grenville's plan to tax America dates from 1764; and from that time till the breaking out of the war in 1775, this controversy daily grew in bitterness. Here then seemed to be an opportunity for France at once to consult her interest and heal her wounded pride. She had carried on more than one war with England, on account of their respective colonial possessions in America, and in these wars the English colonists had fought with equal loyalty and vigor under the British standard. A state of things now arose, when the colonists were becoming more and more disaffected, and when a prospect opened, that they might be made to throw off their allegiance to the British crown. Now in this state of things, it is a matter of some surprise, that the French court should have paid no more attention to this controversy from 1763 to 1775. It is true, we are informed by Dr. Franklin, that he was visited by the French minister at London in 1767, and that he was very inquisitive in relation to American affairs; and these circumstances led Dr. Franklin to write to his son in terms like these; 'I fancy that intriguing nation would like very well to meddle on this occasion, and blow up the coals between Great Britain and her colonies; but I hope we shall give them no opportunity.'* But it does not appear that any thing was done by France in the interval between the peace of 1763 and 1775, to justify the character here ascribed to her. We do not recollect any correspondence, private or official, between any Government agent or men of influence in France and leading characters of America. The patriots of America sought the countenance of the opposition in England, but do not appear to have had any connexions in France, whose Government might have been expected, if only in the way of intrigue,—a sort of necessary element of court life,—to have formed some kind of intercourse with prominent individuals in the colonies.

This political phenomenon is not the least characteristic of the degradation of the French cabinet under Louis XV. Under Governments where there is no public political press, and consequently no public political sentiment, the tone of politics depends on the personal character of the court. Louis XV. and his ministers were so entirely absorbed in the vile intrigues of the palace, that they found time for no business not directly

* Franklin's Works, Vol. I. p. 220.

connected with the perpetuation of the crazy machine of their Government from day to day. The great question agitated, was not, whether the American colonies should throw off the British yoke, but whether the dauphiness should be compelled to visit Madame du Barry. Accordingly, from that time down to the period of the accession of Louis XVI., not a letter had been written that we know of, not an agent on either side had been despatched, in reference to any political connexion between France and the colonies.

We should the more wonder at this, were there not another like example now in existence, and before our eyes. We deem it highly probable, that, by a judicious course of policy pursued for a few years beforehand, the British colonies on this continent could have been so prepared for the war of 1812, as that, on its declaration, they would have made common cause with us. Their interests as Americans are, of course, the same. Their feelings as men must be as prompt as ours to be gratified in the enjoyment of political independence, and to be wounded at being, both in a military and political point of view, garrisoned from a distant and not very conciliatory metropolis. If the question were put to the people of Upper and Lower Canada, of New-Brunswick and Nova-Scotia, whether they would constitute four States of the American Union, with eight Senators and forty members of Congress, or remain in the dependence of Great Britain, a remote colony for younger sons to fatten upon, there can, we suppose, be but one opinion, as to the answer. But instead of any understanding with the people of the Canadas, previous to the war, and a preparation of their minds to make common cause with us in that struggle, which as an American question was as important to them as to us, the war commenced, on our part, by an invasion of those provinces. Instead of thus invading them, a law should have been passed, reviving the eleventh article of the Confederation: 'Canada acceding to this Confederation, and joining in the measures of the United States, shall be admitted to and entitled to all the advantages of this Union.' Had such a law been passed, and the operations of the war on the frontier been confined to the defensive, it is not impossible that very important consequences, in all respects, must have resulted. We are now at peace with Great Britain, and honor as well as policy forbids our tampering with her subjects. But it is a great public duty of the American

statesman to look forward,—to contemplate the unfortunate probability of future wars, and the relations of the colonial possessions of the British Government to the United States and the mother country, whenever a state of war shall arise. It is his duty to guard against all sources of alienation and bitterness between this country and the neighboring and kindred population beyond the northern boundary. He ought to feel, in all its force, even as a purely domestic question, the desirableness of an extension of the limits of the United States to the north, to preserve a safe balance of its growth to the south. For these reasons, the march of events in the Canadas ought to be carefully watched;—their parties and controversies understood;—all causes of irritation avoided;—all means of conciliation sought;—intercourse, commercial, political, and personal, cultivated in every manner, consistent with the principles of honor toward the Government of Great Britain, with which we are at peace; and thus a good foundation laid for adopting on the first day of the next war, a provision tantamount to that, we have already cited from the Confederation. But so far from a pursuit of any such policy, we doubt if there be two communities in the world more essentially foreign from each other, than those of the United States and the British possessions on this continent. The intercourse between them is vastly less active, than between the United States and England or France; and the state of parties in London and Paris is much better understood at Boston, New-York, and Philadelphia, than the state of parties in these interesting adjacent provinces. Such a thing as a Canadian newspaper, taken by a citizen of the United States, for the sake of political information, we never heard of. Such a thing as a friendly political correspondence, between individuals of the two countries, we do not believe exists; and if ten, or twenty, or fifty years hence, (the longer the better,) a war should break out, between us and Great Britain, we much apprehend, that the most efficient preparation for it in the minds of the people in the British provinces, will remain unmade; and that as little pains will have been taken, on our part, to turn it to advantage, in that quarter, as was made by the French court between 1763, and the death of Louis XV., to guide and animate the patriotic cause in this country.

But a much higher spirit was infused into the French counsels, on the accession of Louis XVI. His ministers cast their

eyes immediately toward the British colonies; and in 1776, their condition and the prospects of their struggle with the mother country were minutely discussed by Messrs. Turgot, and De Vergennes, and the leading principles of the French policy, as subsequently acted upon, were developed.*

The first steps taken in organizing the foreign relations of the United States in the year 1775, grew out of the personal connexions of Americans, who were or had been in Europe, particularly Dr. Franklin, who had just returned, and Arthur Lee, who was still in London; and more especially the former. Dr. Franklin, as is well known, had been resident in England, for many years before the Revolution; nor did he return to the country, till after the commencement of hostilities. He had filled the place of agent for Pennsylvania and Massachusetts, New-Jersey and Georgia, and had thus been brought very prominently before the English public, as the champion of America. The result of his examination before the privy council, on the subject of American affairs, was eminently calculated to affect the judgments and the imaginations of liberal and independent men, and to produce an impression of the extraordinary sagacity and patriotism of Franklin. These were qualities possessed by other distinguished American patriots of the day; but the peculiar position of Dr. Franklin, as the representative of some of the Provincial Governments in London, brought him forward more conspicuously in this connexion, than any other citizen of the colonies. There is nothing invidious in the remark, that, at the commencement of the Revolution, Dr. Franklin was better known in Europe, than any North-American. He stood on a footing of intimacy with leading characters in Great Britain, and of personal acquaintance with many more. There were men at home of equal talent, and of greater efficiency as popular leaders; many who, in positions as difficult, though of a different kind, had done as much to lead on the march of the Revolution, but who failed then and have consequently ever since failed, to acquire their just share of renown abroad, from the accidental circumstance alluded to. Franklin's name had pervaded the European world as the champion and representative of America, before those of the Adamses, of Henry, Otis, and Lee were heard of, beyond the Atlantic. So permanent are strong im-

*Marshall's Life of Washington. Vol. III. p. 403, &c.

pressions once struck upon the public, as well as the private mind, that, while the name of Franklin has remained, and justly, in possession of its original celebrity, a writer in the London Quarterly Review, (writing probably from the attic story of an inner court, in one of the least secularized colleges at Oxford,) has asked, within a few years, who ever heard of Patrick Henry?

But it would be unjust to Dr. Franklin, not to add, that he owed not a little of his political celebrity to his European reputation as a philosopher. He had the rare good fortune to vindicate and appropriate to himself one of those few great conceptions, of which a score can scarcely be enumerated in the history of the world; which, by their sublimity, their simplicity, and their truth, confer of themselves immortal glory on a favored few of our race. No one can accuse us of exaggeration, if we place Dr. Franklin's verification of the identity of the electric fluid and lightning, on a level with the Copernican theory or the Newtonian system. The peculiar field of his experiments on this subject, and the character of the elements dealt with are such, in fact, as to give to them a celebrity, beyond their actual importance as hitherto experienced. Copernicus had suggested and Newton demonstrated the true theory of the heavens, and the laws that guide their luminaries on their distant and almost boundless orbits; but theirs was the meditation of the closet, calmly and studiously combining the results of the quiet and midnight observations of the astronomer. With the mass of mankind, the region of electric phenomena, the region of clouds and thunderstorms is as remote, as the orbit of Saturn. There is but one sky; and the lightning is there, as high, and vastly more terrific and intense, than the brightest star. For the same reason that the phases of the moon are more interesting to us than those of Jupiter's satellites, Dr. Franklin's experiments, by which, within our own atmosphere, the phenomena of the heavens and earth are brought together into actual contact, arrested the attention of the world, and gave to him a reputation of the most lofty and brilliant kind.

The entire benefit of this reputation of Dr. Franklin accrued to the United States at the opening of the Revolution. They possessed the advantage of an access to the public mind of Europe, through the medium of one of the

most popular scientific names of the age. No concurrence of circumstances so favorable could have been otherwise effected; and it needs only to be added, that it took place in the person of a man possessing that practical prudence, knowledge of men, and skill in affairs, which would render any individual highly useful, even though destitute both of the political and scientific reputation of Dr. Franklin. Uniting to all these rare endowments rarely combined, the dignity of a venerable age, the strength of an unimpaired constitution, and the weight of a virtuous life, it must be admitted, that among the happy auspices of the opening Revolution, few are more signal, than that it found Dr. Franklin disposed and prepared to embark heart and soul in the cause;—a man, 'whom' in the language of Lord Chatham in the British House of Peers, 'all Europe holds in the highest estimation for his knowledge and wisdom; whom she ranks with her Boyles and Newtons; who is an honor, not to the English nation only, but to human nature.'

A good deal of important business properly connected with the foreign relations, and even the diplomacy of the country, was transacted by the entire body of Congress at its first convening, and before any kind of organization had taken place, for the distribution of affairs into separate departments. Thus on the 1st of October, 1774, Messrs. R. H. Lee, J. Adams, Johnson of Maryland, Henry, and Rutledge, were appointed a Committee to prepare a loyal address to his Majesty; and on the 11th of October, R. H. Lee, R. R. Livingston, and Mr. Jay, were appointed a Committee to prepare an address to the people of Great Britain, which was adopted on the 14th of the month. The first of these addresses was the production of R. H. Lee, and Mr. Dickinson, who was afterwards added to the Committee; the second was drafted by Mr. Jay. If any particular circumstance be sought for, apart from his general merit and standing in Congress, to account for Mr. Lee's selection and position on these Committees, we might find it, perhaps, in the fact of the residence of two of his brothers abroad, one of them, Arthur, a provincial agent and the diligent correspondent of Samuel Adams and other American patriots. There were other memorials and addresses, such as those to the people of Canada, to the people of Ireland, and a second to the people of Great Britain, adopted at the first or second session of the Continental Congress. It may be interesting to observe, that the first petition to the King was re-

ferred to Parliament at the opening of the session of 1775, but it came in undistinguished among other letters and papers from America. Understanding it to be before the House of Commons, the provincial agents, Messrs. Bollen, Franklin, and Arthur Lee, presented a petition of their own to be heard in support of that of the colonies. Sir George Saville took charge of their petition, but on a question of receiving it, it was rejected by a great majority after debate.*

At length, on the 29th of October, 1775, a Committee of five was appointed, 'for the sole purpose of corresponding with our friends in Great Britain, Ireland, and other parts of the world; and that they lay their correspondence before Congress, when directed.' An additional resolution provided for defraying the expenses incident to this correspondence, and 'the payment of the agents who may be sent on this service.' This Committee consisted of Mr. Harrison, of Virginia, Dr. Franklin, Mr. Johnson, of Maryland, Mr. Dickinson, and Mr. Jay. In the absence of the secret history of the day, it is out of our power to indicate the particular circumstance, which led to the choice of Mr. Harrison, as the chairman of this Committee. He was, perhaps, the mover of the resolution.

The operations of this Committee were no doubt considerably embarrassed, by the undecided political condition of the colonies. They had not thrown off their allegiance to England; and whatever the wishes or opinions of individuals, in or out of Congress, may have been, they had not avowed it as their object to effect a dismemberment of the empire. It was plain, that until their relations to Great Britain were ascertained, they could make no definite application to a foreign power. At the same time, the degree of countenance, which they might hope from foreign powers, might materially affect the course of Congress in reference to the great question of independence.

Accordingly, the first steps of the Committee of Correspondence appear to have been taken, with a view to obtaining information, how far they could hope for countenance from any of the Continental powers of Europe. On the 12th of December, 1775, the Committee addressed themselves to Arthur Lee, then at London, and informed him that they had, at the

* Letter to the Speakers of the several Assemblies, by Bollen, Franklin, and Lee. Journals of Congress, Vol. I. p. 75. Edition of 1800.

same time, written to M. Dumas, at the Hague; they also desired Mr. Lee to correspond with M. Dumas. In the letter to Mr. Lee, the Committee say, 'it would be agreeable to Congress to know the disposition of foreign powers towards us, and we hope this object will engage your attention. We need not hint, that great circumspection and impenetrable secrecy are necessary.' This letter is signed by B. Franklin, John Dickinson, and John Jay. About a week after the date of this letter, we find one from Dr. Franklin to M. Dumas. Though subscribed by Franklin alone, it is written on behalf of the Committee.

M. Charles William Frederic Dumas was a native of Switzerland, but established in Holland as a man of letters, apparently in connexion with the booksellers and the periodical press. He is described by Mr. Sparks, in the introductory note to his Correspondence, as 'a person of deep learning, versed in the ancient classics, and skilled in several modern languages, a warm friend of liberty, and an early defender of the American cause.' Dr. Franklin had made his acquaintance in Holland, previous to his return to America, and a private correspondence had been entered into by M. Dumas with Dr. Franklin during the year 1775. In the course of this correspondence, M. Dumas transmitted to America, for the libraries of Congress and Cambridge College, copies of his edition of Vattel, published in 1770. On the establishment of the Committee of Correspondence, M. Dumas was written to by Dr. Franklin, and requested to become their agent. The following extract from the letter of Franklin, of December 19th, 1775, will show the opinions and wishes entertained at that time, in reference to the foreign relations of the United States.

'We are threatened from England with a very powerful force, to come next year against us. We are making here all the provision in our power to prevent that force, and we hope we shall be able to defend ourselves. But as the events of war are always uncertain, possibly, after another campaign, we may find it necessary to ask aid of some foreign power. It gives us great pleasure to learn from you, that all Europe wishes us the best success in the maintenance of our liberty. But we wish to know, whether any one of them, from principles of humanity, is disposed magnanimously to step in, for the relief of an oppressed people, or whether if, as it seems likely to happen, we should be obliged to break off all connexion with Britain, and declare our-

selves an independent people, there is any State or power in Europe, who would be willing to enter into an alliance with us, for the benefit of our commerce; which amounted, before the war, to near seven millions sterling per annum, and must continually increase, as our people increase most rapidly. Confiding, my dear friend, in your good will to us and our cause, and in your sagacity and ability for business, the Committee of Congress, appointed for the purpose of establishing and conducting a correspondence with our friends in Europe, of which Committee I have the honor to be a member, have directed me to request of you, that as you are situated at the Hague, where Ambassadors from all the Courts reside, you will make use of the opportunity, which that situation affords you, of discovering, if possible, the disposition of the several Courts with respect to such assistance, or alliance, if we should apply for the one or propose for the other. As it may possibly be necessary, in particular instances, that you should, for this purpose, confer directly with some great Ministers, and show them this letter as your credential, we only recommend it to your discretion, that you proceed therein with such caution, as to keep the same from the knowledge of the English Ambassador, and prevent any public appearance, at present, of your being employed in any such business; as thereby we imagine many inconveniences may be avoided, and your means of rendering us service increased.'

In pursuance of these instructions, M. Dumas approached the French Ambassador at the Hague, and laid before him a translation of the letter of the Committee, and a memorial showing how important it was to France, to prevent the subjugation of the colonies. The French Ambassador demanded specifically, what the colonies wished of France, and M. Dumas replied, 1°. The interference and good offices of France, to bring about a reconciliation with England, on conditions to secure the liberties of the colonies; and 2°. Failing this, an alliance between the colonies and the House of Bourbon, for the sake of exclusive commercial advantages. By the '*House of Bourbon*,' M. Dumas probably meant to comprehend the two Governments of France and Spain. This, with the exception of the contemporaneous movement of Arthur Lee in London, was the first authentic overture made to the French Government on behalf of the colonies. It met with quite as much attention, as could have been expected. The reply of the French Ambassador, (of course after having taken the instructions of his court,) was in the following terms :

'As to your first demand, the mediation of the King cannot take place, whilst the colonies are subjects of the King of England, who besides would not accept it. As to your second demand, the King is a true knight, his word is sacred. He has given it to the English, to live in peace with them. He will hold to it. While France is not at war with the English, he will not ally himself against them with the colonies, and will not furnish aids to the latter. But, on the other hand, for the same reason, the Americans have the same protection and liberty, as all other English, to resort to France, to export thence merchandize, arms, and munitions of war, without however forming magazines of them in France, which is not permitted by any nation. *Besides, added he, the colonies have no need that either France or Spain should enter into this war. Commerce alone will furnish the Americans all that they want to defend themselves.*'*

In a short period after the date of this communication, Silas Deane went to Europe, in the service of the United States, and was followed in the same year, by Dr. Franklin. It was not therefore left to M. Dumas to pursue the intercourse, which he had so respectably begun, with the court of France. He continued, however, a valuable correspondent and agent of Congress. On Mr. Adams's arrival in Holland, as the Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States, M. Dumas was employed by him as secretary, translator, and interpreter; and appears in this capacity to have rendered very important services. No talent and fidelity on the part of the minister, eminent as he was in both respects, could have supplied the place of the local knowledge of men and things, and the acquaintance with foreign languages, possessed by M. Dumas, and brought into the service of the United States, under the influence of an enthusiastic devotion to the cause. When Mr. Adams left the Netherlands to take a part at Paris in the negotiations for peace, M. Dumas was left by him *Chargé d'Affaires* of the United States, at the Hague. In this capacity, he exchanged with the Dutch Government the ratification of the treaty, which had been negotiated by Mr. Adams. Mr. Sparks closes his notice of M. Dumas, with the following just reflections:

'It will be seen by M. Dumas's Correspondence, that his services were unremitted, assiduous, and important, and performed with a singular devotedness to the interests of the United States,

*M. Dumas's Correspondence. Vol. IX. p. 268.

and with a warm and undeviating attachment to the rights and liberties for which they were contending. Congress seems not to have well understood the extent or merits of his labors. He was obliged often to complain of the meagre compensation which he received, and of the extreme difficulty with which he and his small family contrived to subsist on it. Both Mr. Adams and Dr. Franklin recommended him to Congress, as worthy of better returns, but with little effect. This indifference to his worth and services while living, renders it the more just that his services should be honored with the respect and gratitude of posterity.'

The letters of M. Dumas are contained in the latter half of the ninth volume of the work before us, and constitute one of the most curious and least familiar portions of the work.

It will have been remarked, that the French ambassador at the Hague, in his reply to the overtures of M. Dumas, on behalf of the United States, expressed himself in a singular manner, as to the importance to the United States of a participation in the war, on the part of the house of Bourbon. 'The colonies have no need, that either France or Spain should enter into this war. *Commerce* alone will furnish the Americans with all they want to defend themselves.' This strange sentiment may probably receive its explanation from an event, which took place about the same time, which led to a considerable supply of arms, munitions, and clothing, under the form of a commercial transaction; an event not yet entirely cleared, either of its mystery or its embarrassment, and which was, for a long time, a prominent topic in the consideration of the foreign relations of the United States.

In pursuance of the instructions above mentioned, Arthur Lee had sought conferences with the French ambassador in London, on the subject of the affairs of the colonies. It is probable that substantially the same answer was given to Mr. Lee, which had been given to M. Dumas; but the work before us does not contain any despatch from Lee, written at the time, and stating the answer of the French court. It appears, however, by subsequent letters of Arthur Lee, to the Committee of Correspondence, that in April or May, 1776, he was waited upon in London, by Caron de Beaumarchais, who told Mr. Lee, that he came as an agent of the French court, and with the wish of making an important communication to Congress. At their first interview, Beaumarchais informed

Mr. Lee, that the court of France wished to send an aid to America, of two hundred thousand pounds, in specie, arms, and ammunition, and that all they wanted was to know, through what Island to make the remittance, and that Congress should be apprized of it. They settled on Cape François, as the place; and at a second meeting, Beaumarchais requested Mr. Lee to procure a small quantity of tobacco, or some other produce, to be sent to the West Indies, to give it the air of a mercantile transaction, repeating over and over again, that it was for a cover only, and not for payment, as the remittance was gratuitous. With the verbal communication of this mysterious overture to the Committee of Correspondence, by means of the messenger who had brought out the letters of the Committee, Mr. Lee's agency in this affair appears to have ceased.

Early in March, 1776, Silas Deane was sent out to France, by the Committee of Correspondence, as a commercial and political agent. He was a member of Congress, and appears to have been in Europe before the commencement of the war. It is mentioned by Gordon, as a circumstance unfavorable to his character, that on his nomination, at a later period, as minister to France, jointly with Dr. Franklin and Mr. Jefferson, the delegates from his own State of Connecticut voted against him. As the proceedings of Congress were secret, and the ballots in this and similar elections have never been published, Gordon's information on this as on many other points, may be incorrect. On Deane's arrival at Paris, fortified as he was by letters of introduction from Dr. Franklin, he found immediate access to those persons in that place, who were friendly to America, and shortly to the Count de Vergennes. This minister held to Mr. Deane a language of precisely the same tenor, as that which we have before quoted from the letter of M. Dumas. Deane was soon waited on by Beaumarchais, and was given to understand, that the latter possessed the confidence of the Count de Vergennes. A plan was soon arranged between them, in consequence of which large supplies of arms, munitions, and clothing, were shipped by Beaumarchais to America. On the 18th of August, 1776, he wrote a letter himself to the Committee of Secret Correspondence, commencing in the following lofty strain:

'The respectful esteem, that I bear towards that brave people, who so well defend their liberty under your conduct, has induced me to form a plan for concurring in this great work, by establish-

ing an extensive commercial house, solely for the purpose of serving you in Europe; there to supply you with necessaries of every sort, to furnish you expeditiously and certainly with all articles, clothes, linen, powder, ammunition, muskets, cannon, or even gold for the payment of your troops, and in general, every thing that can be useful for the honorable war, in which you are engaged. Your deputies, gentlemen, will find in me a sure friend, an asylum in my house, money in my coffers, and every means of facilitating their operations, whether of a public or secret nature. I will, if possible, remove all obstacles, that may oppose your wishes, from the politics of Europe.'

In the conclusion of the same letter, he says;

'Look upon my house, then, gentlemen, from henceforward as the chief of all useful operations to you in Europe, and my person as one of the most zealous partisans of your cause, the soul of your success, and a man most deeply impressed with respectful esteem, &c.'

This letter was signed by the fictitious name of Hortalez & Co., under which the business of the Committee with Beaumarchais was transacted.

The person addressing the Committee of Congress in this singular tone, was neither a merchant, a man of fortune, nor a politician; but a man of pleasure, a wit, and a dramatic writer, till this time known only as the author of the *Mariage de Figaro*.* It was at first generally believed, by the agents of the United States and by Congress, that these supplies were furnished by the King of France, as a subsidy to the United States, and without the intention of demanding payment. Eight cargoes were shipped, in the course of 1776 and 1777, and the returns made of tobacco bore but a small proportion to the articles sent to America, and were supposed to be designed only to furnish a commercial cover to the transaction. As Beaumarchais, however, began to press for larger remittances by way of payment, Congress directed Dr. Franklin and A. Lee to seek for categorical information of the minister on the subject. This they did, and the minister informed them, that no part of the supplies was given by the king; and that Beaumarchais had only been permitted to take them from the arsenals to be replaced or paid for. This declaration, of course,

* North American Review, Vol. X. p. 315.

required the acquiescence of Congress, and they proceeded to admit Beaumarchais' charge for the whole amount furnished, and to pay him by remittances of tobacco and bills on Dr. Franklin, in the whole to the amount of three millions and a half of livres. Great difficulties, however, arose in a final settlement of his accounts, which did not take place till 1805. The United States, by their accounting officers, then acknowledged a balance due to the estate of Caron de Beaumarchais of two million seven hundred thousand livres, or about half a million of dollars. This debt was for the supplies furnished by Beaumarchais, and admitted never to have been paid for, by the United States.

But from this sum, ascertained and admitted to be due by the United States, the accounting officers of the Treasury deducted the sum of one million of livres, with interest from the 10th of June, 1776. The balance due, after this deduction, was paid to the heirs of Beaumarchais,—who have demanded also, from that time to this, the re-payment of the one million of livres with interest, from the 10th of June, 1776,—as we think, with good reason. As this is a point interesting to the honor of the nation, and as the claim has too long by many persons been taken for granted to be groundless, without examination, we very briefly state our view of the subject.

In 1805, then, the United States admitted that they owed Beaumarchais two million seven hundred thousand livres, on account of military supplies in the Revolution.

But the United States debited Beaumarchais with one million of livres and interest from the 10th of June, 1776. This deduction was made, because, (as was alleged on the part of the United States,) that sum of money was on the 10th of June, 1776, paid to Beaumarchais, by order of Louis XVI., for the service of the United States, for which million of livres Beaumarchais had never accounted to Congress.

There is no doubt, from documents which have from time to time come to light, that this sum was so advanced by the King of France. But the Government of France has, at various times and with great earnestness, protested that this sum was applied for a secret political service, on account of the United States; that it was not expended in the purchase of any part of the supplies; and that Beaumarchais promptly accounted for it to the king, to whom alone he was accountable. With what show of justice, then, can the United States

credit themselves with this money in part payment of the supplies?

This is the short, if not the long of the case.

In 1816, Mr. Gallatin wrote on this subject to the Duke of Richelieu, in the following terms:

'Without asking for the disclosure of the true application of that million, and without anticipating what species of proof will satisfy Congress, I may say that a simple but explicit negative declaration, on the part of his majesty's Government, that the said million was not applied to the purchase of the supplies furnished by M. de Beaumarchais to the United States, would have removed the doubts entertained by the officers at the head of the Treasury Department, when the account was settled there.'

Mr. Gallatin himself was the officer at the head of the Treasury, when that account was settled. To this observation of Mr. Gallatin, the Duke of Richelieu rejoined:

'I am therefore warranted, sir, after a fresh examination of the facts, in persisting in the declarations above stated, and in considering it as a matter of certainty, that the million paid on the 10th of June *was not applied* to the purchase of the shipments made to the United States, at that period, by M. de Beaumarchais.'

On the 31st of January, 1817, Mr. Madison sent a special message to Congress, in which he recommended the payment of this claim, in the following terms:

'Considering that the sum of which the million of livres in question made a part, was a gratuitous grant from the French Government to the United States, that *that* part of the grant was put into the hands of M. de Beaumarchais, as its agent, and not as the agent of the United States, and was duly accounted for by him to the French Government,—I recommend the case to the favorable attention of the Legislature, whose authority alone can decide it.'

The only question is, will we believe the official and often repeated assurance of the French Government, that the million advanced by her on the 10th of June, 1776, was not applied to the payment of the supplies? If we put faith in these assurances, we have no right to charge that million in Beaumarchais' account for supplies furnished the United States, and his heirs are entitled to re-payment of it, with interest from June 10th, 1775.

The affair in other respects is vexatiously mysterious; and what was done with the million may be a very curious piece of secret history. Nay, those who choose may believe, as we know many intelligent men do believe, that notwithstanding the disclaimer of the French Government, the million was nevertheless applied to the purchase of the supplies. But this is a very ungracious ground for Congress to take, as they must take it in withholding payment of Beaumarchais' long urged claim. This consideration is strengthened by reflecting, that France did, in the Revolution, grant the United States large subsidies of money. She says,—We gave you nine million of livres in money, of which one was applied by us to a secret service, on your account. The United States reply,—No, you gave us eight millions in cash, and one in supplies; and though the individual who furnished the supplies, says he furnished them all on his own account, (as we admit he did the greater part,) and you, the French Government, confirm his statement, yet we believe neither of you, and are resolved to debit him with this million.

So far is this from being a language, which it becomes the American Congress to hold, that we maintain the entire subsidy ought to be re-paid to France. It imports the national honor very nearly, to pay off this last pecuniary debt of the Revolution.*

But to return to the mission of Mr. Deane to France, in the spring of 1776. The French Government had then adopted its course;—to maintain an apparent neutrality; to give no open countenance to the rebels; but secretly to render them efficient aid. This course, however recommended by reasons of state, was certainly not a very ingenuous one, and was attended by practical embarrassments and inconveniences. This long, perplexing, and offensive controversy relative to the claim of Beaumarchais, is itself proof enough of the justice of this remark. But we must take human nature as we find it. The country, in its extremity, went to France for aid. That aid we obtained in the most efficient manner, and it does not

* Since the above was written, it is stated in the public papers, that a convention has been concluded with the French Government, in which provision is made by the United States for paying the claim of the heirs of Beaumarchais. It is further stated in those papers, that this claim is reduced, in the convention, from five million livres to one and a half. We should be very sorry to find this true; the claim is for a specific sum, unjustly withheld from Beaumarchais' estate in 1805, and ought all to be paid.

become us to criticise too nicely the mode in which it was administered.

The Declaration of Independence in July, removed one great embarrassment in the way of an intercourse with foreign powers, and as it was at the same time found that France was willing to befriend us, the resolution was adopted by Congress of sending an authorized Commission to her court. This step was taken in September, 1776. Dr. Franklin, Silas Deane, and Thomas Jefferson were appointed Commissioners to France, with authority to negotiate treaties with other foreign powers. Mr. Jefferson excused himself from domestic reasons, and Arthur Lee, still at London, was substituted in his place. Our opinion of this selection, as far as Dr. Franklin was concerned, may be inferred from what we have already said. It was no doubt the best that could be made. Deane was unquestionably designated, as being already on the spot. He possessed, at the time, the confidence of Franklin and of some of the best members of Congress; but the progress and close of his mission were unfortunate, and his career terminated in a manner discreditable to himself and the country. Justice compels us to say, after the perusal of his correspondence and that of his colleagues, that the charges against him, urged by the Messrs. Lee and their friends in Congress, were never substantiated. A bitter feud arose between Franklin and Lee, in which Deane was involved on the side of Dr. Franklin. Deane (and Franklin less distinctly) was charged with peculation, and having made unauthorized and embarrassing contracts with French officers to enter into the service of the United States. An attempt was made in Congress to recall him, in a manner implying censure, but it failed; and the resolution adopted placed the measure of recall on the ground, 'that it is of the greatest importance that Congress should, at this critical juncture, be well informed of the state of affairs in Europe.' Before hearing of his recall, Deane, in conjunction with his colleagues, had signed the treaty of alliance with France. This all-important transaction dates from February, 1778. Deane repaired to Philadelphia, on his return to America; and there, for two years, solicited, urged, and demanded an examination into his conduct. As far as we can now judge, Congress injuriously omitted to enter into such an examination. After detaining him a long time in Philadelphia, they passed a vote allowing the payment of his expenses dur-

ing the period of that detention, but never came to a resolution of censure or approbation of his conduct. In 1780, he returned to France, where he remained more than a year in destitute circumstances, attempting to settle his accounts. He claimed a large sum of the United States, which does not appear to have been allowed.

He was accused, after this period and not without show of justice, of disaffection to the American cause. If this charge be well founded, his disaffection was probably produced by an exaggerated sense of the wrongs, which he had suffered from the party in Congress and the country at large who were opposed to him. This would furnish but a poor excuse for his treachery. No man in public life has any right to promise himself, even if successful, an exemption from the extremest injustice and abuse. If he fail in any degree of success, the most arduous efforts, and the purest motives are no protection from crying injustice and the grossest calumny. If such wrongs were to drive men into treason, half the statesmen in the country would have an apology for disaffection. Deane's disaffection, however just his causes of complaint, argues therefore a levity and unsoundness of character. After the peace, he lived in England; and it is said, engaged in the unworthy occupation of assisting Lord Sheffield in his work on American commerce, the object of which was to do the new States as much injury as possible in the opinions and hopes of their friends in Great Britain and the world. The extraordinary want both of information and sagacity, evinced in this work on the subject of American commerce, would form a strong reason for doubting whether Deane could have contributed essentially to its preparation. His letters, as published in the collection before us, are those of a well-informed, and intelligent person; and in his anticipations particularly of the growth of the Western country, he went, in precision and reach of view, beyond the standard of his day.

In Deane's official letters we are brought for the first time into direct connexion with the Count de Vergennes,* a minister whose name ought ever to be held in grateful recollection in America. Whether the policy, which he pursued, was the

* When Deane was recalled, the Count de Vergennes wrote him a letter expressing in the strongest terms the satisfaction of the Court, at the manner in which he had discharged his duty as a minister of America. Dr. Franklin, unsolicited, did the same thing.

boldest, which he could have adopted, no man now possesses the means of judging; certainly not without access to the most secret archives of the French Court, at that period. But having adopted it, it is but justice to this minister to admit, that he pursued it with singular equanimity, firmness, and temper. The American Congress fairly threw itself and all its concerns abroad, and many indeed of its troubles at home, on the shoulders of the Count de Vergennes. By a standing instruction, our ministers abroad were directed to take the advice of the French Court; and as the greatest part of the money supplies, which were raised for the support of the war, came from France, it is easy to perceive that the calls upon the time and attention of the minister must have been incessant. To all these difficulties were added the real novelty of the position of France, in reference to Great Britain and the Colonies, and the inexperience of Congress and most of the agents of Congress in Europe. All the thousand troubles connected with the solicitation and reception of subsidies and loans, the disbursements of supplies in France, the fitting out in French ports of armed ships on American account, the adjudication of prizes, the discontents of French officers returning from America, the clamors of the neutral powers against France, for the conduct or misconduct of our privateers, the dissensions of our own ministers,—all these and a hundred other vexations, superadded to the main burden of carrying on the war, devolved upon the Count de Vergennes. The volumes before us are filled with the details of these matters. No ordinary combination of good qualities could have enabled the minister to support the burden. We fear we must add, that under no Government like the British or ours, would it have been possible to support it long, if opposed by a powerful party operating through Parliament or Congress, and the press. The system might have gone on, but the minister must have sunk, harassed and worn down by the weight of so many cares and perplexities. But strong in the good-natured acquiescence of the King, in the decisive support of the Queen, in the gratified animosity of the people to England, and in the public opinion of Europe, the Count de Vergennes administered the Government with a skill and success, rarely allotted to statesmen even of a higher order of mind. His personal qualities come in for no little share of the praise. The patience and good-nature of the man helped out the politician

and the minister; and we advise all irritable gentlemen, who are made wretched at the loss of a county election, or the removal of a post-master, to read the letters of the Count de Vergennes, at a time when the whole political system of Europe and America gravitated to the central point in his cabinet.

The English writers accuse him of a want of judgment, in nourishing the spirit of revolt. He acted, they say, against the interests of the European system and in the cause of Revolution, and sowed the seeds which sprung up into such a wild and fatal growth in France. Wise after the event. The Count de Vergennes was a French minister, and he struck what was thought,—alike in England and France,—a fatal blow at the natural enemy of his country. We speak of course the language of the politicians of both. It was as impossible to foresee that this would connect itself with a Revolution shortly to follow it in France, as to predict the aspect of the clouds for a twelvemonth in advance. If the Count de Vergennes showed a want of sagacity on this score, the British Government showed it equally, in taking his policy in such ill part; for it proved beneficial in the best sense to them. The policy of the minister was bold, decisive, and successful. No one can deny that. The degree of credit it may receive for generosity is a matter, on which men will differ, according to their system of thinking on the springs of political action. We conceive the Count de Vergennes to have been a liberal, warm-hearted, and high-minded minister,—and we tremble even now at the thought of what might have been the fate of our country, had a politician of the opposite cast controlled the counsels of France at this period. Had France been ruled by a North, and England by a Vergennes, our independence might have fallen to be celebrated on the Greek calends.

It is not the least tribute to the merit of Deane, that he had the credit of engaging the services of Lafayette in the cause of the Colonies. The stipulation for this object, bears date the 7th of December, 1776, and is in the following terms.

'The desire, which the Marquis de la Fayette shows of serving among the troops of the United States of North America, and the interest which he takes in the justice of their cause, make him wish to distinguish himself in this war, and to render himself as useful as he possibly can. But not thinking that he can obtain leave of his family to pass the seas and to serve in a foreign country, till he can go as a general officer, I have thought I could

not better serve my country, and those who have intrusted me, than by granting to him, in the name of the very honorable Congress, the rank of Major-General, which I beg the States to confirm and ratify to him, and to deliver him the commission to hold and take rank from this day with the general officers of the same degree. His high birth, his alliances, the great dignities which his family holds at this court, his considerable estates in this realm, his personal merit, his reputation, his disinterestedness, and above all, his zeal for the liberty of our provinces are such, as to induce me alone to promise him the rank of Major-General, in the name of the United States. In witness of which, I have signed the present this 7th day of December, 1776.

SILAS DEANE.'

At the same time, Deane promised a Major-General's commission to Baron de Kalb, and subordinate rank to other officers. The Baron de Kalb, as is well known, was a brave and excellent officer, who fell nobly in the cause. Some inconveniences resulted from Deane's contract with M. du Coudray and other officers, subsequently entered into, in which he doubtless transcended his powers; but his sagacity and address in promoting the purpose of Lafayette to engage in our cause are worthy of all praise; and connect his name in an enviable manner,—could any notoriety be desirable for a blighted fame,—with one of the most brilliant incidents in our history. Such the connexion of Lafayette with our cause is unquestionably to be esteemed. It is a topic not yet exhausted; it will bear again and again to be studied and scanned. Chivalry does not record a more beautiful example of heroism or principle; of personal gallantry; of enthusiasm for worthy objects; of youthful wisdom and conduct, united to all the factitious and external advantages, which so seldom adorn real merit, but are so often accepted as its substitute, and so frequently choke its growth and exercise. Mr. Sparks has wisely consecrated a portion of one of the volumes of this collection (the tenth) to the correspondence of this earliest and best of the friends of America. On his return to France, in 1781, he was requested by Congress to confer with our Ministers abroad, and they were directed to consult him. Under this request, he made a journey to Spain, and rendered important services to Mr. Jay in his long-suffering negotiations with that ungenerous and selfish court. The variety of the avocations which Lafayette assumed, the diligence of his correspondence, and the prudence and vigor

of his conduct, are amply illustrated in the collection of his letters in the present work, and they exhibit to new advantage the character of this wonderful man. There have been those, who deny him the name of *great*. Let them point out another individual of the age, who has borne the test of a career as long and services as various;—whose conduct has been as uniform, whose manners as pure, whose success as brilliant, and we will add, whose glory is as bright as his.

But we find ourselves drawing near the close of our limits, without having touched some of the more interesting topics, which belong to a review of this work. One of these unquestionably is, the sincerity of the friendship of the French court in the negotiations for peace, and the opposite opinions of Dr. Franklin and of his colleagues on that subject. This is one of the great *vexed questions* of our revolutionary history. Mr. Sparks leans strongly to the complete espousal of Dr. Franklin's views and the consequent vindication of the French policy, against the doubts of its sincerity, entertained at the time, by Messrs. Adams and Jay, and their friends in America. The question is obviously twofold, although the two points involved in it are closely connected with each other. One is the imputed design, on the part of France, at the close of the war, to unite with England in excluding us from the Newfoundland fishery, and to restrict our Western boundary to a line drawn far east of the Mississippi; and the other is the connivance of Dr. Franklin in this policy of France, or if not connivance, his want of perception of it and consequent neglect to counteract it. If the first imputation be without sufficient foundation, the second, of course, falls to the ground; but although the first should be established, the second does not of necessity follow. It must also be admitted, that Dr. Franklin's opinion of the sincerity of the French court is a strong argument against its imputed treachery. We have not space to go fully into the discussion; but we own ourselves strongly disposed to the bright side of the question. We have the highest admiration of the talent, the political courage, the living ardor, and the unspotted purity of John Adams, 'the Colossus of Independence.' None can exceed us in respect for the Spartan firmness, the matchless circumspection, the dignified patience of Jay. But these sentiments may be reconciled with the highest respect for Franklin's sagacity, integrity, and patriotism, and for the sincerity of the French court. There

is no *proof*, that France was playing us false. The degree of countenance, which the French Minister gave to the Spanish pretensions relative to the Western boundary was not greater, than is fairly explicable from the political and family alliance between the two courts of France and Spain. Whatever was gained by the United States, on the Western frontier, was lost to the King of Spain, the uncle and the ally of the King of France. Under these circumstances, it surely is going too far to complain of France, for urging the demands of Spain on our candid consideration. Farther than this, we do not find that France went. The suspicions contained in Mr. Jay's letter of the 17th November, 1782,* relative to the object of M. Rayneval's mission to England, seem to us to be satisfactorily met and answered in Mr. Sparks's note appended to Mr. Jay's letter. The letter of M. de Marbois is the strongest document against the sincerity of the French Court. But it is to be remembered, that this was a letter in French and in cypher, intercepted by the British, by them decyphered and translated, and put into the hands of our Ministers at Paris, to make an impression upon their minds. No candid person needs to be told, that this is a very unsafe medium of communication. We do not understand, that M. de Marbois has ever either admitted or denied the authenticity of the letter. There is great good sense in the view, which was taken of it by R. R. Livingston, the Secretary of Foreign Affairs at the time, in his letter to Mr. Jay of the 4th of January, 1783.

'I am persuaded,' says he, 'the last hope of Britain is founded on the distrusts they may sow among their enemies. I wish you had, in a private letter in cypher, informed me how you got at the letter of Marbois, and why it was copied into English. I more particularly wish to know, whether it passed through the hands of the British Commissioners. If it has, it will be of some consequence to see the original, not that I doubt its authenticity, but it may possibly have undergone some alterations.'

We have not the least doubt that this is exactly the truth. The addition of a very few words, such as those italicised at the close of the last paragraph but one in the letter, as printed in Pitkins' History,† would give an emphasis and import to it, which it might not have originally had.

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* Diplomatic Correspondence, Vol. VIII. p. 163, and 208.
† Volume II. p. 531.

But granting it to be every word authentic, what is it, and what does it amount to? It is a letter to the French Minister written by a young man,* the secretary of the French Legation, and *Chargé d'Affaires* at Philadelphia, in the temporary absence of M. de la Luzerne. In this letter on the general politics of the colonies, M. Marbois imputes to Samuel Adams, and the party which he was supposed to lead, a disposition to prolong the war, prompted by a general and habitual spirit of opposing every thing; and charges him with taking advantage of the feeling of the Eastern States on the subject of the fisheries, to stimulate Congress to insist on terms, in reference to that interest, which Great Britain, it was believed, would not accede to. To counteract this policy imputed to Samuel Adams, and for the sake of removing obstacles in the way of peace, M. de Marbois recommends to the Minister, (if it be to M. de Vergennes that the letter was addressed, for there is nothing in its contents to require that supposition, and its tone and manner are quite too familiar for a youthful secretary of Legation writing to the Minister,) to intimate to Congress, that the King of France would not support them in their claims to the Newfoundland fishery. Is there any proof, that this suggestion, even on the part of Marbois, proceeded from any thing else than a sincere desire of removing obstacles to peace? Independence secured, he might, *as a Frenchman*, honestly doubt the expediency of prolonging the war, for the sake of enabling the Eastern States to fish on the Grand Bank. But grant that the views of M. de Marbois were hostile, is there any proof, that the French Ministry adopted or acted on them? Here again we cannot but express our entire assent to Mr. R. R. Livingston's view of the subject. Writing under all the strength of the impression produced by the first receipt of the letter, he considers it of no importance:

'As to the letter of Marbois,' says he, 'I am not surprised at it, since he always endeavors to persuade us, that our claim to the fisheries was not well founded. Yet one thing is very remarkable, and I hope evinces the determination of France to serve us on this point. The advice given to discourage the hope is certainly judicious; and yet we find no steps taken in consequence of it. On the contrary, we have been repeatedly told, in

* Its date is March, 1782, and its author is still living and in office.

formal communications since that period, "that the king would do every thing for us that circumstances will admit, and that nothing but dire necessity shall induce him to relinquish any of the objects we have at heart; and that he does not imagine such necessity will exist." This communication was made on the 21st of last November, from letters [of M. de Vergennes] of 7th September, *previous* to our success at Yorktown, and has been renewed at different periods since. * *

'This letter of Marbois, and the conduct of the court of France, evince the difference between a great politician and a little one. France can, by prohibiting the importation of fish, supply herself; she cannot do more. Our exclusion from the fishery would only be beneficial to England, &c.'

In short, the war was extremely burdensome to France. Her finances were in a state of complete dilapidation, and yet she was daily called on, by the United States, in the most importunate manner, for the entire money supplies necessary to carry it on, and which she was obliged to furnish out of a revenue inadequate to the regular expenses of her own Government, to say nothing of her own war expenditure. It was perfectly natural, then, that M. de Vergennes should ardently desire peace, and be willing to obtain it on any terms not inconsistent with the honor of France and America. We are fully disposed, with Mr. Livingston, to regard this feeling as the key of the French policy, pending the negotiations. Mr. Livingston remarks;

'From the general tenor of these letters [those of the Count de Vergennes] I can discover nothing but an anxious desire for peace, which might very naturally lead him to wish that objections, which he did not conceive essential in the first instance, (after having declared to Great Britain that no peace could be made till our independence was acknowledged,) should not break off a negotiation, which must end in the attainment of an object which they have as much at heart as we.'

But granting, what we do not believe, that France was insincere and unfriendly, what proof or probability is there, that Dr. Franklin was guilty either of treacherous connivance or ignorance scarcely less criminal, on the subject of her policy. Without enlarging on this point, we will but refer our readers to an article in a former number of this Journal,* written by

* North American Review for January, 1830, p. 15, &c.

Mr. Sparks, the indefatigable and judicious editor of the work before us, to whose researches into the revolutionary history of America, as contained in the archives of this country, of France, and of England, the public is under the highest obligations. That article contains, on page 17, an extract from a letter of Mr. Oswald to Lord Shelburne, containing a report of a conference between Mr. Oswald and Dr. Franklin, on the conditions of a treaty of peace. In this conference, Dr. Franklin read to Mr. Oswald a written memorandum of 'points *necessary* to be granted,' and points advisable to be granted. The fourth of the points necessary to be granted is, 'a freedom of fishing on the banks of Newfoundland.' This letter was written before Mr. Oswald had seen Mr. Jay, and three months and a half before Mr. Adams joined our negotiators at Paris.

But it would seem that this point ought to be put at rest, by testimony still more unexceptionable. We mean that of Messrs. Adams and Jay; testimony for the first time made public, we believe, in the present work. It will be borne in mind, that Messrs. Adams and Jay coincided in opinion as to the wish of the French court, and its disposition to compel America to conclude a peace on disadvantageous terms; that Dr. Franklin differed from them on this point, and that between Dr. Franklin and Mr. Adams there was a want of friendly feelings. On the 10th of September, 1783, Dr. Franklin addressed letters, of which the following is a copy, to Messrs. Jay and Adams.

'Sir,—I have received a letter from a respectable person in America, containing the following words, namely; "It is confidently reported, propagated, and believed by some among us, that the court of France was at the bottom against our obtaining the fishery and the territory in that great extent, in which both are secured to us by the treaty; that our minister at that court [Dr. Franklin] favored or did not oppose this design against us; and that it was entirely owing to the firmness, sagacity, and disinterestedness of Mr. Adams, with whom Mr. Jay united, that we have obtained these important advantages."

'It is not my purpose to dispute any share of the honor of that treaty, which the friends of my colleagues may be disposed to give them, but having now spent fifty years of my life in public offices and trusts, and having still one ambition left, that of carrying the character of fidelity at least to the grave with me, I cannot allow that I was behind any of them in zeal and faithfulness. I therefore think, that I ought not to suffer an accusation,

which falls little short of treason to my country, to pass without notice, when the means of effectual vindication are at hand. You, sir, were a witness of my conduct in that affair. To you and my other colleagues I appeal, by sending to each a similar letter with this, and I have no doubt of your readiness to do a brother Commissioner justice, by certificates, that will entirely destroy the effect of that accusation.'

Mr. Jay's answer to this letter is expressed in the following ample terms :

'*Passy, September* 11, 1783.

'I have been favored with your letter of yesterday, and will answer it explicitly. I have no reason whatever to believe, that you were averse to our obtaining the full extent of boundary and fishery secured to us by the treaty. Your conduct respecting them, throughout the negotiation, indicated a strong and steady attachment to both these objects, and in my opinion promoted the attainment of them.

'I remember, that in a conversation which M. de Rayneval, the first secretary of Count de Vergennes, had with you and me in the summer of 1782, you contended for our full right to the fishery, and argued it on various principles.

'Your letters to me when in Spain, considered our territory as extending to the Mississippi, and expressed your opinion against ceding the navigation of that river, in very strong and pointed terms.

'In short, sir, I do not recollect the least difference of opinion between us respecting the boundaries or fisheries. On the contrary, we were unanimous and united, in adhering to and insisting on them. Nor did I perceive the least disposition in either of us, to recede from our claims, or to be satisfied with less than we obtained.'

Mr. Adams, in his reply bearing date the 13th, after reciting the charge against Dr. Franklin, as contained in Franklin's letter above quoted, proceeds as follows :

'It is unnecessary for me to say any thing on this subject, more than to quote the words, which I wrote on the evening of the 30th of November, 1782, and which have been received and read in Congress, namely; "As soon as I arrived in Paris, I waited on Mr. Jay, and learned from him the rise and progress of the negotiation. Nothing that has happened since the beginning of the controversy in 1761, has ever struck me more forcibly or affected me more intimately, than that entire coincidence of principles and opinion between him and me. In about three days,

I went out to Passy, and spent the evening with Dr. Franklin, and entered largely into conversation with him, upon the course and present state of our foreign affairs. I told him my opinion without reserve of the policy of this court, and of the principles, wisdom, and firmness, with which Mr. Jay had conducted the negotiation, in his sickness and my absence, and that I was determined to support Mr. Jay to the utmost of my power, in pursuit of the same system. The Doctor heard me patiently, and said nothing.

' "At the first conference we had afterwards with Mr. Oswald, in considering one point and another, Dr. Franklin turned to Mr. Jay and said, "I am of your opinion, and will go on with these gentlemen, without consulting the court." He has accordingly met us in most of our conferences, and *has gone on with us in entire harmony and unanimity throughout, and has been able and useful both by his sagacity and reputation, in the whole negotiation.*" '

Taken even singly, we do not see what need be added to the strength of this attestation. In conjunction with the letter of Mr. Jay, in which the same coincidence of views between Jay and Franklin is avowed, which Mr. Adams sets forth as existing between himself and Mr. Jay, we do not see in what stronger terms, and from what authority so competent, the imputation against Dr. Franklin could be repelled.

We own that we take pleasure in coming to this conclusion. It vindicates the honor and the fair fame of a man, whose reputation is a rich portion of the moral treasure of America. The whole matter then as between Dr. Franklin and his colleagues, will resolve itself into a difference of opinion, on the sincerity of the French court; a difference of opinion unquestionably most honest. If we go farther, as we have already observed that our best consideration of the subject obliges us to do, and conclude that, on this point, the judgment of Dr. Franklin, of the American secretary, and the majority of Congress was correct, we shall impute to Messrs. Adams and Jay nothing but an honest error in opinion, while we shall have the satisfaction of believing in the honor and probity of our first ally, to whose aid we are so deeply indebted for the success of the Revolution, and on whose motives we ought to rejoice to place the most friendly interpretation.

A part of the fourth, the whole of the fifth and sixth, and a part of the seventh volumes of this work are appropriated to the correspondence of John Adams. As it is twice the amount of the correspondence of any of our other public agents abroad,

so it is proportionably rich in instruction in the political history of the times. Mr. Adams was appointed one of our commissioners to France on the 28th of November, 1777, when Silas Deane was recalled. At the close of the year 1778, Congress determined to have but one minister at the French court, and in consequence of this resolution Mr. Adams returned to America, and arrived at Boston, on the 3d of August, 1779, in the French frigate *La Sensible*, the vessel which brought M. de la Luzerne. On the 27th of the next month he was elected by Congress as a Minister Plenipotentiary, to negotiate a treaty of peace with Great Britain, whenever she should be disposed to put an end to the war. He arrived in the month of December in Europe. In June, 1780, Mr. Adams was authorized to negotiate a loan for ten millions of dollars in Holland; and in December of the same year was commissioned to negotiate a treaty of friendship and commerce with the United Provinces, and appointed Minister Plenipotentiary to the States-General and the Prince of Orange. On the 14th of June, 1782, four additional Commissioners, Franklin, Jay, Laurens, and Jefferson, were associated with Mr. Adams, to negotiate a peace with Great Britain. On the 8th of October, 1782, Mr. Adams succeeded in bringing to a happy close, a treaty of commerce between the United States and Holland, and was publicly received as the Minister of the former. Thus left at liberty, he proceeded to Paris, where Messrs. Jay and Franklin had been employed for three or four months in the negotiations for peace. He united his efforts with theirs, and on the 30th of November had the honor, as the senior Commissioner, to sign his name first to the preliminary treaty. He also took part in the discussions of the definitive treaty, and was the first signer of that instrument. He passed the winter of 1784 in Holland, and in February, 1785, was appointed first Minister of the United States to the court of St. James. Returning in 1788, he was elected first Vice-President of the United States.

During this entire period, his correspondence was kept up with untiring industry. It is enriched with intelligence then important, from all parts of Europe, and with numerous state papers, not now easily to be found elsewhere. In his negotiations with Holland, Mr. Adams evinced great firmness, political courage, and skill; and acting as he did, in opposition to the advice of the French court, which he was directed to con-

sult, he deserves the undivided credit of having brought that negotiation to a successful issue ; as he did also the negotiation for a loan of money in the same country. None of the agents of the United States was longer employed in the foreign service, but one (Dr. Franklin) as long ; none exceeded him in industry, zeal, patriotism, and general intelligence ; none was more successful ; and none higher in the estimate of his countrymen.

Mr. Jay's letters from Spain and France are among the most valuable parts of this collection. They are perhaps the ablest specimens of a guarded diplomatic style, which the work presents ; as prudence seems in fact to have been a prominent trait in his character. The letters of Mr. Jay from Spain, however, cannot be read without feelings of unmeasured indignation against that cold, selfish, illiberal court. Never was an honest man placed in a less enviable position. Mr. Jay was commissioned to obtain subsidies or a loan in Spain ; and Congress in the extremity of their wants, proceeded to the most irregular, and as the event proved, distressing step of drawing on Mr. Jay for one hundred thousand pounds, on the strength of his commission, and without the least ground to believe that he would succeed. Perceiving the distress in which Mr. Jay and the United States were placed, Count Florida Blanca attempted, by holding out a fallacious hope of supplying their wants, to extort concessions as to the navigation of the Mississippi and the Western boundary ; and had the almost incredible meanness to demand in return for the aids he proposed to furnish us, a re-inforcement of ships of war for the Spanish navy. After all, one hundred and fifty thousand dollars was the utmost amount, which Mr. Jay could wring from the Spanish court, by importunities, which it is impossible to read without shame for ourselves, and scorn and contempt for the paltry spirit, that required to be thus solicited. Whoever would do justice to the French ministry, needs only contrast the conduct of the two courts.

We ought, before we hurry from this part of the subject, to observe that the letters of Mr. Carmichael, who went out as secretary to Mr. Jay, and succeeded him at Madrid as *Chargé d'Affaires*, are written with great ability, and evince an exceedingly active, able, and adroit diplomatist. They compare advantageously with the best contents of the work.

We are constrained reluctantly to pass over the correspondence of Chancellor Livingston and of the French Ministers,

Gerard and M. de la Luzerne, with the single remark, that it does great credit to these gentlemen, and forms an instructive section of the work. Neither are we able to dwell particularly on those portions of it which contain the letters of the Messrs. Lees, Izard and Dana. But we must do an act of hasty justice to Robert Morris, the superintendent of the finances of the United States. Mr. Sparks has collected his letters in the eleventh and twelfth volumes of the work. They throw much light on the crazy condition of the finances of the country, and on the singular merit of Mr. Morris. This indeed stood on general admission before; but we are inclined to think, that the reader of these volumes will come to the conclusion, that as Morris had the sagacity to single out and call into the financial service the talents of the youthful Hamilton, so he proved himself in the worst times of the Revolution a financier in no degree unworthy to stand on an equal footing with him, who has justly been called *the father of the credit of the United States.* His correspondence is not exclusively confined to finance, but extends to various topics, connected with the conduct of the war and the interests of America.

The present collection forms one of a series of valuable works, which have been published, in pursuance of a resolution of Congress, of March 27th, 1818. It has been preceded by the Journal of the Convention which formed the Constitution, and the secret Journals of foreign and domestic affairs of the old Congress; the former in one, the latter in four volumes. In the original resolution, the foreign correspondence of the old Congress was directed to be published only to the year 1783. At this point, therefore, the present work is abruptly brought to a close. It is evidently very desirable to have the correspondence of our diplomatic agents abroad, between the peace of 1783 and the adoption of the Constitution. This would comprehend the correspondence of Mr. Jefferson from Paris, and that of Mr. Adams from London, both we presume highly valuable, particularly the latter on the subject of the colonial trade. A resolution was reported to the House of Representatives at the last session of Congress, authorizing the Secretary of State to continue the work to the period of the adoption of the Constitution, under the editorship of Mr. Sparks. It is highly desirable that such a resolution should pass, as we trust it will, at a future session of Congress.

Meantime we must not omit, in closing our desultory notice

of the present collection, to repeat our thanks to Mr. Sparks, for the manner in which he has discharged his duty, in preparing it for the press. He has reduced the vast mass of materials to convenient order, and supplied from other and authentic sources the lamentable chasms in the files of the Department of State. It is well known, that no other individual in the country has enjoyed equal opportunities to fit himself for an enterprise of this kind. We sincerely hope that he will be authorized to carry it on to its appropriate close. Three or four volumes more, we presume, will be sufficient for this purpose, and for an ample index to the whole work. Appropriations for purposes like these are, we know, obtained with some difficulty from Congress. But there is no expenditure of the public money more creditable to the country, or more likely to contribute to the general respectability of the public service. If there were no other consideration to recommend it, we owe it to the generation of patriots who achieved our independence, to bring out from the archives in which they are perishing, the monuments of their talent, for their honor and our instruction.

ART. VII.—*Stewart's Voyage to the South Sea.*

A Visit to the South Seas in the United States' Ship Vincennes, during the Years 1829 *and* 1830, *with Scenes in Brazil, Peru, Manilla, the Cape of Good Hope, and St. Helena.* By C. S. STEWART, A. M. Chaplain in the United States' Navy, and Author of 'A Residence in the Sandwich Islands in 1823 and 1825.' 2 vols. 12mo. pp. 717.

Mr. Stewart, on commencing the duties of his profession, conceived himself to be specially called to engage in the Christian Mission to the Sandwich Islands, where he took his station in 1823, with the other Missionaries who had established themselves there three years before. In 1825, the declining health of Mrs. Stewart, who had accompanied her husband on the mission, rendered it necessary for them to return home, and leave to others the hopeful and already gloriously successful work of christianizing and civilizing the successor of Tamehameha and his subjects. On returning to the United States, Mr. Stewart published his journal of a 'Residence in the Sandwich Islands,' which was re-published in England, where, as

well as in this country, it has been very generally read. It is an exceedingly interesting work, and together with Mr. Ellis's Tour through Hawaii, has made the world acquainted, not only with the progress of the Mission, but also the geography, physical features, state of cultivation, and products of these islands, and the condition of their inhabitants.

We have already* vindicated the missionaries against some of the aspersions and misrepresentations promulgated in the account of the voyage of Blonde, under the command of Lord Byron, and in an article on that work in the London Quarterly Review.†

In a notice of Mr. Ellis's Tour, we have also in a former number‡ given an account of the state of the missions in 1825, and an outline of the recent history and present state of these islands.

Though, after Mr. Stewart's return to the United States, it was found that a residence of one year at home had partially restored Mrs. Stewart's health, yet as her physicians interdicted her return to a tropical climate, and exposure to the hardships and privations of a missionary life, her husband was prevented from rejoining his brethren at the islands, and left to seek some other scene of labor. Accordingly, at the expiration of his engagement with the Missionary Society, he made application for a chaplainship in the navy, to which he was readily appointed, and this gave him the opportunity of again visiting the Sandwich Islands. During the voyage in the United States' frigate Guerriere, under the command of Commodore Thompson, to Rio de Janeiro and thence to Lima, and the voyage thence in the ship of war Vincennes, commanded by Captain Finch, to the South Sea Islands, and thence home by the way of Canton, Manilla, and the Cape of Good Hope, Mr. Stewart kept a journal in letters addressed to Mrs. Stewart, which he had no intention to publish at the time of writing those relating to the earlier part of the cruise, though he no doubt supposed they would be read by his friends. They are, therefore, by no means filled with incidents and reflections, which could be interesting only to the parties to the correspondence. With the exception of some erasures in the journal, and of some additions to the last letter dated at Rio de Janeiro, relating to Mr. Tudor, the whole remains, says the

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*No. LVIII. p. 59. †No. LXX. ‡No. LI. p. 334. April, 1826.

author, almost word for word as it was originally penned at the common mess-table of a gun-room, amidst the conversation of his companions for the voyage, and within hearing of all the bustle and din of a man-of-war.

Mr. Stewart sailed from Norfolk on board of the Guerriere, early in February, 1829, in his new capacity of chaplain of a man-of-war, but better accommodated for comfort, reading, writing, or contemplation, than most chaplains of men-of-war, or sea-faring journalists, as he occupied a state-room in the cabin. He describes the forward or dining-cabin as being an octagon of some twenty feet in diameter, partitioned off so as to exclude the guns, without any garnishment of battle-axes, cutlasses, shot-boxes, or pistols, on the walls, and well carpeted, so that the party arranged at the centre-table in the evening, had an air of domestic comfort, and presented a parlor-like aspect, while the winter blasts were whistling in the rigging. But with all possible accommodations, a man-of-war is not the most favorable place to study and philosophize. Five hundred men, settled for the voyage on such a small wooden island, will necessarily jostle each other, and one is obliged to hear many voices that strike harshly upon the ear, besides that of the tempest. But this dense population of the floating territory, gave it an increased interest to Mr. Stewart, who says that he had long since learned to have a regard for the character of the sailor, to admire his warm-heartedness, his clannish partiality, which leads him to hail every round jacket and tarpaulin hat, as the signals of a brother; his recklessness of danger, and regardlessness of self; his good-humor, gaiety of spirit, and credulity tinctured with superstition. Nor were they objects of a merely quiescent contemplative interest and curiosity to one who had conscientiously devoted his life to the reclaiming of men from the errors of their opinions and ways, and who seems to be animated by a still youthful, philanthropic and pious ardor to lead his fellow-men from darkness to the light, as yet undamped by the perverseness, hard-heartedness, and ingratitude, which are apt, in the progress of life, to chill the warmth of early benevolence, and teach one to become indifferent to the fate of others, through despair of serving them. He accordingly labored with untiring, and as we should judge, well-directed zeal, as a faithful pastor of his moving parish. He succeeded in gaining a prompt and devout attention to the daily and weekly religious services, in which the crew became more

and more interested in the course of the voyage. He seems to have persuasively won upon the affections, and attracted the confidence of many of these rough and stern combaters with the elements, and had the satisfaction of believing that a deep and permanent religious impression had been made upon the minds of some, evinced by a striking change in their language and manners. On leaving the Guerriere for the Vincennes, at the port of Callao, he accordingly had the satisfaction of receiving the warmest acknowledgements of gratitude from many of the crew of the former, for his moral and religious instruction, and a general demonstration of personal regard.

This Journal is well worth publishing, if for no other reason, were it only to show how much may be done for the moral improvement, obedient and orderly deportment, and discipline of a crew in the naval service, by the assiduous, kindly intended, and judiciously directed labors of the chaplain. For this purpose, however, he must have the countenance of the officers, as Mr. Stewart had in this voyage, being early informed by Commodore Thompson, that it was his wish, as well as that of Captain Smith, the next officer in rank, to have daily public prayers on board, according to the prescribed, though previously disregarded, rule of the naval service. The time of sunset was fixed upon for this purpose, when fair weather permitted; the occupations of the numerous, busy company ceased at the appointed signal, and all gathered quietly round the chaplain, some fifty or sixty midshipmen pressing closely to him, and the numerous congregation of the men forming the exterior circle; all giving serious and respectful attention while he read a hymn or a passage in the Bible, and made a few introductory remarks and a short prayer, the whole exercises not occupying longer than ten minutes at the most. To conduct these religious exercises with success, the person leading in them must be sincere and devout, and have professional talent and address; but he must also be skilled in social and conventional proprieties and conveniences, and limit himself suitably in time, and choose his topics and expressions with discretion and a proper adaptation to his auditory, otherwise the decorum, solemnity, and devoutness of the exercises will be dissipated, and their utility defeated.

In the latter part of March, the Guerriere entered the harbor of Rio de Janeiro. After passing Cape Frio, the general

line of the coast trends off to the south-west, from which a bay makes up into the interior in a northerly direction some seventy or eighty miles, about midway of which on the westerly shore stands the city. In approaching the harbor from sea, you pass on your left the Sugar Loaf, with its steep, inaccessible sides, and truncated top, leaning like the tower of Pisa; and on your right the fort and long line of fortifications. Before you is the bay, studded with beautiful islands, stretching up into the country, where the prospect is bounded in the far distance by the lofty fantastic peaks of the Organ mountains. The right shore is bordered by luxuriant plantations, sprinkled with white cottages, monasteries, and the towers of churches, with rugged mountains again in the back-ground, fringed with dark forests towards their bases, and projecting their naked tops high into the air. On the left you pass the narrow inlet of the deeply embosomed bay of Botafogo, as tranquil and secluded as a Scotch highland loch, with the palace, and here and there a fisherman's hut on its border, and numerous sea-fowl above, wheeling to and from their nests in the crags of the steep sides of the surrounding hills. You next pass, on the same side, the wide-sweeping Praya de Flamengo, or beach of the Flamengos, about a mile in extent, along which at the water's edge is ranged a line of pleasant mansions. The next object on the same side is the Gloria Hill, with the church of our Lady of Glory, a small white octagon, surmounted with lofty, well-proportioned towers, surrounded and partly overhung with trees and shrubbery. Up the valley between this hill and the city, you then open a view of the massy arches of the stupendous aqueduct for conveying water from the neighboring mountains to the city. After you pass this opening, the shore shoots up in another hill, capped by a gloomy looking and decaying pile of monastic building, and then the city presents itself, situated mostly on a low level, interspersed among abrupt hills, with its steeples, and towers, and a forest of masts, in the fore-ground. In the centre of the city, a small steep hill rises to the height of two hundred feet, the summit of which is the site of the massive architecture of the episcopal palace, having another hill a little to the westward, the top of which is occupied by a monastery. In every direction, near and at a distance, you see mountains with spire-like or truncated tops, and dark, naked sides, towering into the skies. Such are some of the more striking points in the author's description of one of the most magnificent landscapes in the world.

Immediately on landing, Mr. Stewart repaired to the residence of Mr. Tudor, at that time *Chargé d'Affaires* of the United States in Brazil, whose many amiable qualities and accomplishments, and numerous public services, particularly in his diplomatic character in Brazil, give him ample claims to commemoration, and who is especially entitled to be remembered in this Journal, of which he was the original editor. His residence was at the Praya de Flamengo, already mentioned, where, though the parties were not before personally acquainted, Mr. Stewart was received with the easy grace and frank cordiality for which Mr. Tudor was so much distinguished. He passed the two weeks, while the Guerriere remained at that port, in the society of Mr. Tudor, with the best possible advantages for observing the Brazilians and their capital; and at his departure took leave of his host 'with deep regret and painful emotion;' not to see him again, for Mr. Tudor's decease took place before Mr. Stewart had completed his voyage. Mr. Stewart says of him;

'He is one of the most talented, extensively informed, and truly amiable men, I have ever met. Received by him with the cordiality of a brother, and admitted at once to the confidence of his bosom, I discovered, during the fortnight of our companionship, traits so noble and fascinating, as to excite an admiration I have seldom known for one not decidedly spiritual in his character, and to win an attachment I can never forget.'

We pass over the author's observations in the capital of Brazil, the stormy passage round Cape Horn, the visit to Valparaiso, and his account of men, manners, and things at Callao and Lima. On the 4th of July he was transferred to the Vincennes, commanded by Captain Finch. The first night after sailing from Callao for the Washington group of Islands, the crew were alarmed by the cry of 'a man overboard.' The subject of the alarm was a boy of about fifteen, who had dropped overboard. He was soon picked up, and the crew thus saved the ominous presage of commencing the cruise with a funeral. The boy did not take the incident very grievously to heart, for on scrambling over the ship's side and regaining the deck, looking at his naked foot, he very coolly remarked, '*I'll be hanged if one of my shoes a'n't gone.*'

The religious exercises were conducted on board of the Vincennes, as they had been in the Guerriere; with the only

difference, that instead of assembling the crew by the sound of the boatswain's pipe, and a hoarse call around the decks, '*All hands to prayers, ahoy !*' the band, as soon as the bell struck the hour, played the Portuguese hymn, as the signal and as a prelude to the worship, while the men from all parts of the ship silently gathered round their leader in the devotions, who, as a substitute for a pulpit, stood upon a shot-box by the capstan, upon which the American ensign was spread instead of a cushion. After the religious services, on the Sunday before making the Washington Islands, Captain Finch, by a written order, which was publicly read to the crew, announced to them, that some of the objects of the cruise were to secure a harmonious intercourse between the natives of the islands about to be visited, and the sea-faring Americans who might be compelled in their commercial pursuits to put into the same harbors for refreshments and supplies,—to reclaim such men as might have been left upon those islands; to make some impression upon the islanders in respect to our national character, and to encourage them in the arts of civilization. He instructed the crew, that for these purposes, a propriety of conduct on their part would be requisite, and informed them that he should prohibit the natives from coming on board, 'unless under peculiar, or such other circumstances, as had theretofore been the usage of the ship in other ports.' He also intimated that the natives should be treated with respect. The reasons for treating the islanders with some respect, as a sovereign and independent people, having national attributes and rights, appear in the remarks of Mr. Stewart, Vol. 1, p. 317, where he says, that he is fully persuaded that their fierce, vindictive deportment to foreigners, is attributable, in at least a majority of cases, to the wrongs, frauds, and contempts committed among them by persons, who regard them as being scarcely above the brutes. To remove, as much as possible, the impressions thus made upon their minds, Captain Finch resolved to treat the chiefs with respect.

Passing near to Huahuka, the first of those islands in their course, they proceeded to Nukuhiva, about thirty miles to the south, the same island at which Captain Porter refitted during the last war, and which was the scene of a great part of the events recorded in his journal, and particularly of a war, in which he took a part as an auxiliary to one of the belligerent

tribes. Mr. Stewart gives a very good description of the scenery of this island, and the manners, modes of life, and social, or rather savage condition of its inhabitants. They are similar to those of the Marquesas group, lying further to the westward, and he avails himself of the journal of Mr. Crook, a missionary at these islands in 1797–98, for an account of some peculiarities in their institutions and modes of thinking, with which he could not have made himself well acquainted during his short stay.

According to Mr. Crook, there is nothing like civil authority in these islands. The people are free from all rule and restraint.

'If one man receives an injury from another,—is defrauded, robbed, or assaulted by him,—instead of entering a complaint to the chief, or seeking redress according to some established usage of the country, he at once resorts to the prowess of his own arm, and takes lawless retribution by inflicting violence and death; or if restrained by the fear of the power or influence of the aggressor, standing at a distance, he expends his anger in fierce gestures and loud declamations against the infringement of his rights. Such is the relation between the chiefs and the people; it confers on the former little influence or authority, except that arising from aristocratic birth and large possessions, and exacts from the latter the ordinary marks only of respect and good will.'

There is evidently a striking resemblance in some respects, between the mythology of these and the Sandwich islands and that of Greece. In both systems, for example, a dead hero becomes a god. But the Marquesans refine upon this,—for which they have, however, the authority of the Romans,—*deus est nobis*,—for they worship and sacrifice to living men, who claim the title and attributes of the Deity, not through a professed inspiration, or possession by a supernatural influence or power, but in their own right of godship, as those who control the elements, make the earth fruitful or sterile, inflict diseases and death. Though the gods of various classes are sufficiently numerous, those of this description are very few, not exceeding one, or at most two, on an island. There was none near the place where the Vincennes touched at Nukuhiva, though the former abode of one was pointed out to Mr. Stewart. Mr. Crook gave an account of one in Tahuata, an island in the Marquesan group, at the time of his residence there, in 1797. He was then of great age, and lived in a large house surrounded by an enclosure. From the beams of the house within, and

upon the trees around, were suspended by the heels the corpses of human victims, which had been sacrificed to him, the heads being scalped. No one beside his servant was permitted to enter his house, except for the purpose of bringing human sacrifices, of which more were offered to him than to any other of their gods, and he frequently seated himself upon a scaffold, in front of his house, and called for two or three at a time. Human sacrifices were frequent in the Sandwich islands, as well as in the Marquesas. Victims were obtained in war, or by stealing them from a neighboring tribe, as is now practised in those islands to which the labors of the missionaries have not yet extended, the inhabitants of which retain what was considered, at the time of Cook's voyages, their amiable mildness. A cause of the war raging between two tribes of Nukuhiva, at the time of the visit of the Vincennes, was the stealing of a family to be sacrificed. But war and man-stealing were not the only means of supply. If a priest, in the name of some god, called for the sacrifice of men, the *tabu* was sometimes resorted to; an order being issued, for instance, that nobody should go upon the water, eat a certain description of food, touch another, &c. for a certain number of days; and whoever, through temptation, or from inadvertency, or kindness to another, broke the *tabu*, was forthwith seized and sacrificed to appease the adored anthropophagus. Mr. Ellis mentions an instance in Oahu, where a man went out into the harbor in the surf, where he appeared to be drowning; and an old man seeing his apparent danger, went to his assistance, and took hold of him for the purpose of saving him. This was a violation of the *tabu*. The decoyer thereupon swam away very briskly, and the old man was seized and sacrificed.

These people have a complete feudal system of their own, as far as the property in land is concerned; the whole of which belongs to the higher orders, civil and religious, the boundaries of each manor being accurately defined. The rest of the population are mere dependants and servants of the land proprietors.

Mr. Stewart relates an instance of those atrocities which are so often committed upon these islanders by foreigners, belonging to civilized communities, and which would disgrace the most savage of the savages. In exploring a delightful valley of the Hapas, of Nuhukiva,—the same tribe with which Captain

Porter carried on a short war in behalf of the United States,—as Mr. Stewart and his companions were passing a neat looking house of a chief, a man apparently about forty years of age, of a good figure, amiable aspect, and respectable appearance, beckoned to them with his fan, from the elevated platform surrounding his dwelling, and invited them to call. They remarked a settled sadness in the countenances of the chief and the females constituting his family. They had heard, since arriving at the island, that not long before, an *American whaling ship* had approached the island, and hove to off one of its little bays, as if desirous to communicate with the shore; whereupon a large canoe put off, with seven men, five of whom were received on board of the whaling ship, which then stood off from the land. The three stoutest were selected and retained on board, probably to supply a vacancy made by death or desertion, and the other two driven overboard, and obliged to swim for their lives, the two left in the canoe having paddled for the shore, supposing all their companions to have been carried off to sea. Such was the act of piracy committed by one of our whaling ships, according to the account of the islanders. One of the three men thus kidnapped, was a young chieftain and only son, and the family which Mr. Stewart and his companions stopped to visit, consisted of his parents, his wife, and his sisters. When the whaling vessel is filled, he will be put ashore at the first inhabited, or perhaps uninhabited island, possibly a thousand miles from Nukuhiva, and left to get home as he can or perish, while the owners of the whaling ship will carry a share of the cargo to the credit of the profit and loss account of the voyage. The family had recorded the time of his being kidnapped, by adding a knot in a string at every full moon, making the time of the piracy the month of March, 1829, five months before the visit of the Vincennes. The relatives of the stolen chief told the story of this atrocity to their visiters, and mingled with their tears earnest entreaties that Captain Finch would use his endeavors to have the object of their affections and hopes restored to them; which he readily promised. It is to be hoped, for the cause of humanity, that a suitable infamy and punishment will light upon the perpetrators of a crime so savage.

The journal of the visit to Nukuhiva is full of interest. The descriptions are generally very graphical; the inquiries and observations are made with much industry and intelligence,

and the remarks are characterized by candor and good sense. An admirable description is given of a water-fall, near to the house of the chief whose son was carried off by the piratical whalers. A small river gushes from an opening between two bushy precipices, and dashes in broken sheets down a descent of seventy or eighty feet, into a little deep basin in an offset of the rock, and concealed from the spectator below by shrubbery and creeping plants, whence issuing to the right it tumbles along successive shelves, nearly perpendicularly, again about two hundred feet into a quiet basin at the bottom. The scene is rendered more picturesque, by groups of natives with their loose garments streaming in the wind at different points in the fall, some standing at the top and apparently on the edge of the precipice.

The Vincennes next proceeded to Tahiti, (Otaheite,) a distance of seven hundred miles westwardly. This and the Society Islands lying near, have been the scene of a great revolution, since missionaries were first sent to them by the London Missionary Society in 1797. It was, however, many years before any effects of their labors appeared, so that in 1813 they reported only fifty converts. In 1815, the number had increased to about five hundred in all the islands, many of them being pupils of the missionary school established at the small island of Eimeo; an illustration, among a thousand others, that instruction in the rudiments of learning and in the arts of civilized life, is among the most effectual means of Christianizing the heathen. Soon afterwards an additional number of missionaries was sent out, and the people now began rapidly to abandon their old idolatry, until, in a few years, the great mass of the population discarded their former worship, used the uncouth images of their gods for fire-wood, declared themselves Christians, built places of worship, and have since been diligent pupils in the schools, and devout worshippers in their chapels.

The South Sea Academy, established on the small island of Eimeo, lying about fifteen miles west of Tahiti, and which has been the great engine of the conversion and civilization of these islanders, is a very respectable seminary. The pupils are taught in books printed in their own language, which has been reduced to writing by means of an alphabet constructed upon principles proposed in Europe, and simultaneously published by Mr. John Pickering in America, in the transac-

tions of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. The seminary is situated at Afareitu, on the eastern coast of the island. The academy, chapel, and cottages of the natives stretch along the shore, making an extensive range of white buildings on the water's edge, beneath mountains rising almost perpendicularly nearly three thousand feet high; and presenting a striking landscape, which combines magnificent natural scenery, with the monuments of the arts of civilization.

Another monument of the triumph of both Christianity and the arts in those regions, is a chapel at another part of the same island. It is an octagon sixty or seventy feet in diameter, constructed of hewn coral, in appearance not unlike light free-stone or marble; well plastered and white-washed within, and furnished with convenient seats, a gallery, and a well designed and well finished pulpit, all of the wood of the bread-fruit tree.

A no less striking monument of the progress of improvement is a turnpike road, made by convicts condemned to hard labor, for various breaches of the laws. It extends nearly a hundred miles, all around the island of Tahiti; is a broad gravel way constructed from point to point along the coast, smooth and well finished, and crossing the streamlets from the mountains by narrow plank bridges. Though this is the work of convicts, it illustrates not the less the liberal and enlightened policy of the Government, in the application of the industry which is at its immediate disposal. This road we consider to be a very strong proof of civil progress and economical improvement. A people that can accomplish such a work ought no longer to be considered as savages.

Another evidence of the same sort, is the code of written laws drawn up by Mr. Nott, one of the missionaries, and now adopted, and practically administered in the Society Islands. This code distinctly defines offences, and annexes to each its appropriate punishment.

About the middle of September, 1829, the Vincennes left the Society Islands, on a passage of twenty-five hundred miles to the Sandwich Islands, where Mr. Stewart found himself again in the scene of his former missionary labors. It was now but four years since he left the islands, and but ten since King Rihoriho abolished the old idolatry. Shortly after the abolition of the absurd and cruel rites of pagan superstition, four missionaries arrived at these islands from the United States, namely, Messrs. Bingham, Thurs-

ton, Ruggles, and Whitney, with Dr. Holman, a physician, Mr. Loomis, a printer, and Mr. Chamberlain, an agriculturist. Afterwards, as we have mentioned, Mr. Stewart joined the mission, and also Mr. Ellis, who had been long a missionary in the Society Islands, under the patronage of the London Missionary Society. They have since been joined by others, the names of fourteen, in all, being given in a letter addressed to Captain Finch, in 1829; namely, Messrs. Bingham, Richards, Andrews, Bishop, Clark, Shephard, Thurston, Goodrich, Green, Chamberlain, Judd, Ruggles, Gulic, and Whitney. Though the chiefs of these islands had not any other gods to prevent their embracing Christianity, yet there were sufficiently formidable obstacles to the introduction of religion and morals. The natives were sunk in the darkest ignorance, the only amelioration as yet being, that this darkness was not haunted by the cruel imaginary demons of their former worship. They had no letters. They had but recently been sacrificers of human victims. Custom permitted them to expose their aged sick relatives to perish of hunger. Infanticide was frequent, it being the practice with the mothers of sick or troublesome children, a year or two, more or less, old, to dig a hole in the earth in their cabin, as a grave for the living child, to which they consigned it, first stopping its cries by putting a piece of cloth over its mouth. The maternal feeling that naturally triumphs over all others, was so entirely extinguished in these savage mothers, that they would, apparently without any compunction, walk over the recent grave of their infant, in the pursuit of their daily employments. At the decease of any principal chief, amidst the wailing and transports of grief, which broke out with the greatest extravagance on such occasions, a temporary dissolution of all laws took place; acts of violence were done and even murders committed, being prompted by long remembered grudges, and a thirst of revenge; and indiscriminate licentiousness without distinction of ranks, was among these funeral rites. The whole population were thieves, drunkards, and desperate gamblers. The women, who had been degraded into mere slaves, were raised in rank and consideration by Rihoriho, but they were exceedingly debased in morals and habits, and their licentiousness of manners was promoted by the visits of foreign ships.

Such, and worse in some particulars, were the Sandwich

Islanders ten years before the visit of the Vincennes; and though their imaginary gods had been in a great measure already displaced, a field of sufficiently arduous labor was presented to the small corps of missionaries, to reclaim a hundred and fifty thousand savages from their darkness, brutal debasement, and wickedness. They had already been reduced to that number by their wars, crimes, and vices, since the discovery of the islands by Captain Cook, in 1778, when the whole population is supposed to have amounted to four hundred thousand. The changes and improvements that have taken place in these ten years, and especially during the last four, is truly astonishing; but the representations of some of the foreign residents, that the labors of these ministers of religion and civilization have been disastrous to the islanders, is really unaccountable. That there is no pretence for these representations, is demonstrated by a flood of testimony that is quite irresistible; but what is really surprising, and almost incredible, is, that, with all this testimony before their eyes, men should be so vicious, and so perverted by a supposed present interest in perpetuating the ignorance of the natives in order to make them the fitter subjects of frauds, or by their desire of a clear field for unrestrained indulgence, as to charge these missionaries with having brought misfortunes and misery upon the natives.

It is well known that some of the foreign residents in the South Sea islands, have, from the beginning, been hostile to the missionaries, and that their prejudices and feelings found their way into the account of the voyage of Lord Byron in the Blonde, and also into the article on that voyage in the London Quarterly Review for March, 1827; and that, in the same number, was published a pretended letter of Boki, a chief of the Sandwich islands, complaining of the missionaries; which letter was fabricated, probably, in the Sandwich islands, and afterwards a little dressed up for publication in London. The missionaries accordingly had, for a time, a formidable array of opposition; misrepresentations of their detractors at the islands were re-echoed by the editors of the 'Voyage' of the Blonde, and countenanced by the Quarterly Review.

This was ungenerous treatment, and even persecution in one form, of a set of men, who have rendered one of the most signal services to the cause of Christianity and civilization, since the Reformation. We do not mean to pronounce an

unqualified eulogy upon all the thirty or forty missionaries in the South Seas, any more than we should upon Martin Luther, were we writing his life. But admitting some of them, or all of them, to have made mistakes, and in some instances to have stepped beyond the proper sphere of their functions,—as it is very possible they may occasionally have done, and afforded just ground for some small part of the many complaints made against them,—still they deserve to be commemorated in the annals of Christianity and civilization, as among the distinguished benefactors of mankind, the effects of whose labors will continue to ameliorate the condition of whole tribes and nations for many generations to come.

It will be sufficient to mention some few facts, to show the greatly improved character and condition of the inhabitants of these islands. The Vincennes touched first at the eastern side of the island of Hawaii, (Owhyhee,) the easternmost and principal of the Sandwich Islands, the other six being scattered along at different distances, within three hundred miles, to the north-west. Mr. Stewart visited Hawaii in 1825, in the Blonde, with Lord Byron. The labors of the missionaries had then just commenced in the island, it being only two years after Mr. Ellis and three other missionaries had made a tour round it near the shore, for the purpose of fixing on missionary stations. These pioneers, at the time of making their tour, preached two or three times a day at the different villages to as numerous congregations as could then be collected, being usually from fifty to one hundred and fifty. At the very place visited by the Blonde in 1825, where the first rays of light were then feebly glimmering upon the minds of the natives, Mr. Stewart and the officers of the Vincennes, in 1829, after the conclusion of the services on board of the ship, attended public worship on Sunday, 'in an immense structure, capable of containing many thousands, every part of which was filled, except a small area in front of the pulpit reserved for them, to which they made their way in slow and tedious procession, from the difficulty of finding a spot to place even their footsteps, without treading upon the limbs of the people seated on their feet as closely almost as they could be stowed;' and still many were excluded for want of room. On their entering, the minister, Mr. Goodrich, paused in his discourse until they were seated. 'The suspense of attention in the people was only momentary, notwithstanding the entire novelty to them,

of laced coats, cocked hats, and other appendages of the naval uniform.'

'I can scarce describe,' says Mr. Stewart, 'the emotion experienced in glancing an eye over the immense number, seated so thickly on the matted floor as to seem literally one mass of heads, covering an area of more than nine thousand square feet. The sight was most striking, and soon became, not only to myself, but to some of my fellow officers, deeply affecting. It seemed, even while I gazed, that the majesty of [Divine] power might be seen rising and erecting to itself a throne, permanent as glorious, in the hearts of these but lately benighted and deeply polluted people. And when I compared them as they had been once known to me, and as they now appeared, the change seemed the effect of a mandate scarce less mighty in its power, or speedy in its result, than that exhibited when it was said, *let there be light, and there was light.*'

The same spirit moves the general multitude of the inhabitants throughout these islands. It is not an ecstatic, evanescent fit of uninformed enthusiasm. A very large part of the population show a devout and earnest disposition to be instructed, not only in the doctrines of Christianity, but also in the habits, manners, and arts of civilized life. They present the grand spectacle of a whole people, including both sexes and all ages and conditions, going to school together to learn to write their own language in its new alphabet, and taking the first feeble steps in the long career in the arts and intellectual and moral improvements. We cannot believe that there are many men in the world, who would desire that such a movement should be arrested, for the sake of present indulgence or profit.

During the week preceding the arrival of the Vincennes, not less than ten thousand people were assembled at that station, on the occasion of an examination of the schools. The officers of the Vincennes were subsequently present at an examination of the schools at Honolulu, the residence of the young king, and the principal port of these islands, where the classes most advanced, embracing several hundred scholars, exhibited in reading, writing, the elements of arithmetic, geography, biblical history, recitations from the Scriptures, catechisms and singing. Many of the scholars could write a good hand, and 'all manifested as full an understanding in the acquisitions made, as would be found among scholars at a

similar exhibition at home.' The king, then sixteen years old, and the chiefs, some of them the veteran warriors and counsellors of Tamehameha, appeared at the head of their classes, and showed a laudable ambition to be first in knowledge as they were first in rank. The king read aloud in English, with great distinctness of enunciation, and correctness of accent. At the same time was exhibited some needle-work, done by a class of young girls under the instruction of Miss Ward; 'the articles were beautifully finished, as much so as if the work of a skilful mantua-maker. Many of the native females have become expert in dress-making, and obtain their support by the exercise of their art.'

Though there cannot but remain some relics of the recent barbarism of the people, yet the progress made exceeds the most sanguine expectations. The visits of foreign ships, and the trade in sandal-wood, have brought a good deal of profit to the chiefs, the effects of which might be expected to appear in a gaudy finery and extravagance. But it seems, on the contrary, that the islanders show a very considerable taste and sense of propriety in their luxuries and ornaments. Mr. Stewart particularly describes the furniture of the palace of the king, and of the houses of the principal chiefs, which, though in many instances costly, does not indicate a childish admiration of what is glaring and fantastical.

In a letter addressed by the missionaries to Captain Finch, on the improvements made in the islands in the course of ten years, they say, 'No nation is probably more temperate and less addicted to gambling. Industry has been encouraged; commerce has been increased about five hundred per cent.; schools have been every where established; and about 30,000* of the inhabitants, perhaps more, brought under instruction; about 500 pages† of different matter have been prepared for the press, in the language of the country, including more than half of the New Testament, and 100 hymns; the whole printed and published in various forms by our press, amounting to about 7,000,000 pages.'

Mr. Stewart says, that if any of the missionaries could find time for editing a news-paper, we should soon see the 'Hawaiian Herald and Sandwich Islands Register,' as the patronage

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* Now 50,000, Mr. Stewart says. † Now 800 pages.
‡ Now, Mr. Stewart says, 13,632,800.

would be fully sufficient to sustain it. Some attempts have been made to establish a body of written laws, but as yet with no great success. Some of the foreign residents,—we are careful not to say *all*,—have opposed the adoption of a written code of laws, and have absolutely denied the right of jurisdiction over them, to the Government of the islands. It is their will and pleasure, in short, to be lawless, for they deny the jurisdiction of their own native Governments, as stoutly as they do that of the Sandwich Islands, so that they in effect deny their obligation of obedience to any laws whatever. And they have sustained this state of savage independence hitherto with some success. At the time of the visit of Lord Byron, the subject of a code was discussed, and he proposed some general laws, mostly however of a constitutional character, regulating the political relations of the rulers and people, but some also respecting the title to lands, and the regulation of commerce. It does not appear that any except the last were adopted. The operation of these has been very beneficial. The regents, who governed in the name of the young king, attempted about the same time to introduce some laws of a municipal kind, particularly in relation to crimes. Some of the missionaries were invited to be present at the discussion of this subject in the council, on information of which, a party of leading individuals among the foreign residents, 'violently and riotously interrupted the council, with such menaces and threats against the members of the mission, even to the taking of life, that the chiefs were actually intimidated, and, for the time, relinquished their purpose.' Afterwards, however, in 1827, notwithstanding the opposition from the same quarter had increased, the king and chiefs determined on the promulgation of laws against murder, theft, and adultery; the first to be punished with death, the other two with imprisonment in irons. These laws were first proclaimed by the king in person, to an immense assembly of people, natives and foreigners, and they were immediately printed and circulated in handbills. Soon after, others were added against gambling, drunkenness, prostitution, and sabbath-breaking.

An incident that occurred in the early stage of the mission, will illustrate the state of society at that time, and the disposition of some of the foreign residents. The pupils of the first female school collected by Mrs. Bingham, after being clothed and brought with much care and attention to habits of neatness

and propriety in their persons, and having become deeply interested in various branches of useful instruction, were borne off, openly and forcibly, by some of the foreign residents to become their mistresses, while their instructress could answer their appeals made to her for protection, only by her tears.*

Some transactions occurred as lately as October, 1829, in relation to one of the English residents, which are strikingly illustrative of the state of things at the islands. Near to Honolulu, the principal port, is a large common, on which the horses and cattle of both natives and residents are turned to graze. Adjoining this common, are situated little cultivated plantations. According to an ancient custom of the island, if an animal break into an enclosure, it is forfeited to the proprietor. Proprietors do not, however, usually avail themselves of the forfeiture, but are content with a reasonable reparation in damages. A certain British resident, whose name is not given, being the proprietor of an enclosure, had adopted the practice of shooting every animal that broke into it. The same resident owned a cow, which was turned upon this common with the other cattle. To protect the plantations, an order had been passed, to secure the cattle in yards during the night. This order he neglected, and his cow broke into a plantation of a native, who detained her as a pledge for the damage she had done; for which he was reproved and threatened by the owner, who made no reparation. Accordingly, on the cow's breaking into the plantation again, she was shot by the farmer. The owner of the cow, on being informed of this, went on horseback in company with an American resident, and without any order from the chiefs or consultation with them, they seized the farmer, and pinioning his arms, tied a halter about his neck, and rode off to town, a distance of three miles, with their prisoner. They rode with such speed, that the islander, after being exhausted with running, fell, and was then dragged along the ground until he was much bruised, several of his ribs being injured, and his sides excoriated. An islander seeing he was like to be strangled, 'had the courage,' as Mr. Stewart expresses it, to run to his relief and cut the rope. He was, however, by the order of his captors, put into irons and imprisoned in the fort, the usual place of confinement, where,

* Stewart's Residence, &c. p. 162. London edition, 1828.

says Mr. Stewart, 'he still remains,' namely, on the 19th of October, being some two or three weeks from the time of his seizure. We presume the fort to be under the command of the native Government, and we accordingly cannot see how this native would be confined there, *by the order of the two residents*, as stated by Mr. Stewart. However this may be, Mr. Stewart says that the facts of the outrage were stated to him by a number of the chiefs and by others, and among the rest by the man who cut the rope to save the life of the person seized. Taking the facts as stated to Mr. Stewart to be true, and they are corroborated by a document published by the king and his council at the time, the outrage seems to resemble very nearly the transactions that recently took place in Georgia.

The affair became one of much importance and interest at Oahu. The British residents drew up a formal memorial to the Government, representing their lives and property not to be longer safe at the islands; with a request to Governor Boki, that an answer might be carefully prepared, as it would be transmitted to the British Government. A solemn meeting of the council of state was accordingly held, and a formal reply drawn up in both the English and Hawaiian languages. It assures the memorialists of the protection of the Government; declares that all foreign residents shall be amenable to the laws; replies, in relation to the seizure of the farmer, that he ought not to have been punished without a consultation with the Government, adding, 'you rashly and suddenly injured the man; that is one of the crimes of two of you;' setting forth particularly the wrong and violence. This paper contains a touching expostulation to the foreign residents. 'This is our communication to you all, ye parents from the countries whence originate the winds; have compassion on a nation of little children, very small and young, who are yet in mental darkness, and help us to do right, and follow with us that which will be for the best good of this our country.'

The memorialists were so little satisfied with this reply, that they threatened violence against any who should be concerned in its publication. Persons friendly to the missionaries advised them not to print the document at their press, lest it might give rise to unpleasant consequences. They, however, printed it, and no violence seems to have ensued.

Some of the residents are friendly to the improvements, which have been commenced in the islands, and if still more

of them would use their influence and lend all the aid they can in the establishment of laws and the introduction of morals and manners, they would have less reason to be jealous of the interference of the missionaries in the affairs of the Government; for these 'little children,' as the islanders call themselves, can only become civilized through the advice and assistance of the Europeans and Americans, and they must necessarily resort to those who are ready to lend them aid. They very naturally, and, indeed, under the present circumstances, necessarily, resort to the missionaries for counsel in state affairs, as well as in matters of faith and conscience, and it is desirable that they should do so, if there are among the missionaries, persons of sufficiently liberal views and skilled in civil polity. They, however, disclaim any desire to interfere, and are specially instructed by their patrons not to meddle with political concerns.

Captain Finch was the bearer of a letter, dated January 20th, 1829, addressed to the young king by the Secretary of the Navy, (Mr. Southard) by order of the then President, (Mr. Adams) inviting a good understanding between the United States and the islanders; expressing the President's admiration at the rapid progress made by the islanders 'in acquiring a knowledge of letters and of the true religion,—the religion of the Christian's Bible,'—encouraging them to proceed in the course of improvement,—recommending the missionaries to their favor, as persons who seemed to be sincerely desirous to be useful to them,—intimating that foreign residents owed obedience to their laws, and by violating them, 'violated, at the same time, their duty to their own Government and country, and merited censure and punishment,'—and saying that Captain Finch was commanded 'diligently to inquire into the conduct of our citizens whom he might find at the islands; and, as far as he had authority, to insure proper conduct and deportment from them.' This communication was highly gratifying to the islanders; the king and chiefs listened to a translation of it publicly read at the time of presenting it, with ecstacy, some being moved even to tears. They have a deep sentiment of their being as yet but half-reclaimed savages, that they are 'little children, very small and young,' they feel that their own improvement is an arduous undertaking on their part, and, accordingly, any encouragement and recognition of them on the part of the Governments of civilized countries, are exceedingly cheering and gratifying.

The American residents were, however, exceedingly dissatisfied with this letter, and sent back a protest, of which Captain Finch was the bearer, which has not been published, but purports, as Mr. Stewart understood at Honolulu, that the letter from our Government should have come through the Secretary of State, and not of the Navy; that the Secretary has no right to inform the king that the religion of the 'Christian Bible' is the 'true religion,' or to recommend the missionaries to his protection and kindness. It denies any ill conduct on the part of any American residents at the Islands, and asserts, that whether their conduct there be good or bad, the Government of the United States has no jurisdiction over it.

It did not become the American residents to protest too strongly against any interference in their concerns and those of the islanders, when they were availing themselves of the assistance of the Government, through Captain Finch, to effect a settlement of their accounts with the chiefs, and obtain payment of the balance due to them; and some of their objections to the letter seem to be quite frivolous, particularly their exception to the insertion of Mr. Stewart's name in it. We cannot but think, however, that the Secretary's letter was a little unguarded in asserting, that a violation of the laws of the Sandwich Islands by American residents was a breach of their duty to their own country; and it might have been well to have expressed the right of our Government to interpose in relation to the conduct of those residents while on the Island, in terms still more qualified. But in determining which of the two parties to countenance, the resident traders or the missionaries, the Government certainly could not hesitate to choose as it did, whether it had regard to the welfare of the islanders themselves, or to the interests of our commerce in the Pacific.

We have omitted many things in these volumes, which would have been interesting to our readers, particularly the visit to the volcano, and the reception of Mr. Stewart at Lahaina, his former station as missionary; and we shall pass over the part of the Journal relating to Canton, Manilla, and the Cape of Good Hope. We have said enough, we trust, to show to those of our readers who have not read this Journal, that it will be a very interesting work to them, and afford them a great deal of information to which no philanthropist or Christian can be indifferent. Though some few of

the topics are hardly worthy of a place in the Journal, and others, if touched at all, should have been more fully treated,—and though a rigid revision, had it not been prevented by the domestic griefs of the writer, might have led him to expunge some things, particularly the passage in which he pronounces that a certain person who died in the course of the voyage had made a transition to torments, with a greater confidence than seems to us to be expedient, and more plainness than will be grateful to his relatives and acquaintances who may read the Journal,—yet the work, on the whole, does great credit to the talent, literary taste, intelligence, philanthropic disposition, and piety of the author. The incidents of the voyage, as related by Mr. Stewart, will add to the reputation of the officers with whom he sailed, and all the proceedings of Captain Finch at the Polynesian islands, show that a better selection of a commanding officer for the cruise could not have been made.

Art. VIII.—*Exhibition of Pictures at the Athenæum Gallery. Remarks upon the Athenæum Gallery of Paintings for* 1831. 8vo. pp. 35. Boston. 1831.

It was one of the richest days of autumn; a warm haze filled the air, mitigating and diffusing the splendor of the sun, tinting every object with new colors, and yet appearing rather to dim the very beauty it bestowed. As the sun declined on such a day, a Spanish maiden left her father's castle among the mountains. As she turned from the gate, she looked down on the valley from which came up distant sounds of the rebeck, and saw gay groups of dancers twirling the castanets, and bounding along in the mazes of the bolero. She paused a moment,—not with a wish to join in their merriment, but to think of one with whom she had often partaken in the same sports,—and then slowly sought the higher defiles of the Sierra. The way would have fatigued any but a mountaineer; but her frame, though delicate by nature, had been expanded by exercise into the full proportions of womanly strength. She trod upwards with an elastic step, until she reached a bank on the border of a little lake, that lay deeply embosomed among the higher peaks of the mountains. It seemed a familiar place. She stopped, as if she had gained the object of her pursuit,

threw her beaver on the grass, and shook her long dark tresses in the faint breeze. It was a spot of mingled beauty and grandeur. One red splintered pinnacle of granite soared into the deep blue sky, almost beyond sight; from which forms of gentler undulation led the eye gradually down to the quiet depths of the lake, distinguished from its banks only by the darker reflex of their broken colors. A slender stream, hardly seen, fell into it on the further side, through a chasm which showed it was sometimes a torrent. Trees of fantastic forms, but of stinted proportion, covered its borders in tangled masses, diminishing to shrubs, tufted the higher points of rock, and crept like mere herbage up the clefts of the distant mountain. Over the whole hung a deep veil of invisible vapor, which, absorbing all outline, left nothing but masses of color, light and shade. Regardless of all around her, the maiden sat, looking up with eyes fixed on vacancy, in an attitude between repose and action, plucking the grass with unconscious fingers, with an expression neither of joy nor of sorrow, neither of hope nor of fear, and yet with traces of all these feelings in her flushed and yet tranquil face. It was the spot where she had parted from her lover, when he joined the chivalry of Spain to drive the Moors from Grenada. She was to meet him here on his return; but that return had been long delayed, and the hope of it had become distant and indefinite. Who that had seen her in this reverie of mingled thought, would not have wished for the pencil of Allston to 'endow her with immortal youth?' Who that sees the picture of that accomplished artist, which suggested this description, does not wish that he could have seen the living original? It seems impossible that there should not have been, in some undiscovered region of beauty, such a scene and such a being.

To be more plainly critical, the *Spanish Girl in Reverie* is, in our judgment, one of Allston's very best paintings, both as to composition and execution. In atmospheric effect, we do not believe it has ever been surpassed. To give a much better idea of the subject than can be gathered from our prose, we subjoin a beautiful ballad, which has just been handed to us, written in illustration of it by the artist himself.

THE SPANISH MAID.

Five weary months sweet Inez number'd
From that unfading bitter day
When last she heard the trumpet bray

That call'd her Isidor away—
That never to her heart has slumber'd;

She hears it now, and sees, far bending
Along the mountain's misty side,
His plumed troop, that, waving wide,
Seems like a rippling feathery tide,
Now bright, now with the dim shore blending;

She hears the cannon's deadly rattle—
And fancy hurries on to strife,
And hears the drum and screaming fife
Mix with the last sad cry of life.
Oh, should he—should he fall in battle!

Yet still his *name* would live in story,
And every gallant bard in Spain
Would fight his battles o'er again.
And would not she for such a strain
Resign him to his country's glory?

Thus Inez thought, and pluck'd the flower
That grew upon the very bank
Where first her ear bewilder'd drank
The plighted vow—where last she sank
In that too bitter parting hour.

But now the sun is westward sinking;
And soon amid the purple haze,
That showers from his slanting rays,
A thousand Loves there meet her gaze,
To change her high heroic thinking.

Then hope, with all its crowd of fancies,
Before her flits and fills the air;
And, deck'd in Vict'ry's glorious gear,
In vision Isidor is there.
Then how her heart mid sadness dances!

Yet little thought she, thus forestalling
The coming joy, that in *that* hour
The Future, like the color'd shower
That seems to arch the ocean o'er,
Was in the living Present falling.

The Foe is slain. His sable charger
All fleck'd with foam comes bounding on;
The wild Morena rings anon,
And on its brow the gallant Don
And gallant steed grow larger, larger;

And now he nears the mountain-hollow;
The flow'ry bank and little lake

Now on his startled vision break—
And Inez there.—He's not awake—
Yet how he'll love this dream to-morrow!

But no—he surely is not dreaming.
Another minute makes it clear.
A scream, a rush, a burning tear
From Inez' cheek, dispel the fear
That bliss like his is only seeming.—WA. ALLSTON.

The pleasure of copying these lines tempts us to trespass a little beyond the subject of this notice, and add another poem by the same hand, on a smaller, but still more highly finished picture,—the most highly and beautifully finished of Allston's heads. It is a little Tuscan girl sitting by a fountain. We regret that this gem is not in the exhibition; but it is still in the hands of the artist. The poem and the picture are twin sisters, and we pretend not to guess which was intended as an illustration of the other.

THE TUSCAN GIRL.

How pleasant and how sad the turning tide
Of Human Life, when side by side
The Child and Youth begin to glide
Along the vale of years;
The pure twin-being for a little space,
With lightsome heart, and yet a graver face,
Too young for wo, though not for tears.

This turning tide is Ursulina's now;
The time is mark'd upon her brow;
Now every thought and feeling throw
Their shadows on her face;
And, so are every thought and feeling join'd,
'Twere hard to answer whether heart or mind
Of either were the native place.

The things that once she lov'd are still the same;
Yet now there needs another name
To give the feeling which they claim,
While she the feeling gives;
She cannot call it gladness or delight;
And yet there seems a richer lovelier light
On e'en the humblest thing that lives.

She sees the mottled moth come twinkling by,
And sees it sip the flowret nigh;
Yet not, as once, with eager cry
She grasps the pretty thing;
Her thoughts now mingle with its tranquil mood—

So pois'd in air, as if on air it stood
To shew its gold and purple wing.

She hears the bird without a wish to snare,
But rather on the azure air
To mount, and with it wander there
To some untrodden land;
As if it told her in its happy song
Of pleasures strange that never can belong
To aught of sight or touch of hand.

Now the young Soul her mighty power shall prove,
And outward things around her move,
Pure ministers of purer love,
And make the heart her home;
Or to the meaner Senses sink a slave,
To do their bidding, though they madly crave
Through hateful scenes of vice to roam.

But, Ursulina, thine the better choice;
Thine eyes *so* speak, as with a voice:
Thy heart may still in Earth rejoice
And all its beauty love;
But no, not all this fair enchanting Earth,
With all its spells, can give the rapture birth
That waits thy conscious soul above.—WA. ALLSTON.

Of the *Roman Lady reading Tasso*, we say less than of the *Spanish Girl*, only because the subject admits of less description, and not because it is at all inferior. It has a charm of expression and of perfect reality, that might make it in time even a greater favorite. Such pictures soon become to us something more than mere forms of inanimate beauty. The mind of the artist has endowed them with a portion of his own existence; and the places in which they have been familiar objects, seem, in their absence, as if deserted by an accustomed friend. This emanation of mind is the true and only lasting criterion of greatness in the arts. It is all that elevates them above mere mechanical employments. No beauty of design, no splendor or delicacy of color can compensate for the want of this communion of intellect between the artist and those who look on his works; and where these adscititious excellencies seem to be the characteristics of greatness, they are so only because they are united with a higher power. We admire Titian as the greatest of colorists; but who ever gave to portrait, and even to landscape, such fascination of expression? We read and write about the *chiar'oscuro* of Correggio as the wonder of his works; but he was, more than all other painters,

a poet in his art; and the magic of his light and shade is but the appropriate, we had almost said the necessary vehicle of the conceptions of a mind of the highest order. Neither color, design, grace, *chiar'oscuro*, nor even expression gave to Raphael the rank of the first of painters; in each he was surpassed by some one of those who yet were all his inferiors in that dramatic power, by which he communicates immediately with the mind of the spectator.

And this exercise of mental power is by no means confined to historical composition. It may and must be put forth in a great degree in landscape and even in portrait-painting, if we would raise them to the dignity of liberal arts. The mere taking of likenesses, whether of persons or places, is a good and useful trade, and, diligently pursued, deserves success like any other honest industry. But let not those who follow it flatter themselves that they are pursuing the Fine Arts, or complain of the want of taste in the public if they are not patronized. A certain quantity of that labor will always be wanted and paid for; but to purchase such works is no proof of taste, and greatly to admire them shows a sad want of it. An artist of genuine power may and often must do much drudgery of that kind for bread; and to do it is no disgrace. But let him remember that the money he gets for it, and the wonder of the ignorant, are all the rewards he is to expect. If he claim a higher recompense, he must bring higher powers into exercise. Let us not be thought to undervalue portrait or landscape painting as branches of the art, nor, least of all, to speak disrespectfully of those who practise them. We merely wish, that a distinction may be made between the different modes of practice; and particularly to call the attention of artists in all departments of educating and exercising the mind as well as the hand, if they would attain any desirable rank in their profession.

We ardently desire to see the Arts flourish in our country. We think much of their influence on the character of those who are merely taught to enjoy their productions, and by that knowledge are led to a closer observation and new perception of the beauties of nature. But the fact that they furnish another object of intellectual labor to those who practise them is, in our minds, a consideration of at least equal importance. We suffer in this country for the want of such employment, and the want is daily becoming more urgent, as the number of

educated men increases. The several professions are crowded to suffocation. One who desires that his children may gain a livelihood by the labor of the mind, finds it more and more difficult to select for them a vocation which promises both bread, and the consideration in society which such occupations secure. The difficulty of getting an education sufficient for any of the present pursuits of life, is much less than that of finding what to do with it when obtained. We want objects on which to expend the mental energy we can create; we want places to be filled by those who would devote themselves to the cultivation of the mind; something of a liberal cast besides law, physic, theology and politics. If employments for the well-educated are not multiplied, education will be neglected; because, cheap as it is, it will cost too much if no money can be made of it. Literature and the Arts will in time supply this want here as they have elsewhere. The sooner this can be done the better, and the greater the number that can be supported by them, the greater will be the average of education and intelligence in the community. In this view, as means of increasing the number of educated men, we look on all the liberal Arts as matters of vast importance. To open a new or extend an old field of profitable intellectual industry, is one of the greatest benefits that can be conferred on mankind.

But, much as we rejoice in the progress of the Fine Arts, we confess we care comparatively little about the merely mechanical labor that is sometimes called by that name. We do not think the country would be much benefited or its character much elevated, if our artists could paint brass-kettles as well as Ostade, or dead game as well as Snyders. The painter who copies such things, is indeed likely to be somewhat more refined than the tinker or cook who handles the originals; but he is still further removed in an opposite direction from the artist, who endows with form and color the beautiful objects of his own invention, or embodies in portrait the intellect and character as well as the features of the face. We would not absolutely denounce what is called still-life painting, but we value it very lightly; and we protest against admitting among productions of the Fine Arts, those works, of which the whole supposed merit consists in an imitation of what is in itself entirely insignificant, and the highest aim of which is to produce a momentary deception.

The other branches of painting, landscape and portrait as

well as composition of figures, are properly ranked among liberal arts, because in all of them the success of the artist depends mainly on mental cultivation. We do not mean that it will give him the necessary delicacy of organization, if nature has denied it; for in nothing has she more plainly distinguished between men from their birth, than in their different capacities to acquire the imitative arts. But we mean that all her liberality is thrown away when it falls on the ignorant and uncultivated. As to historical composition, the truth is so obvious, that nothing more need be said; it depends on education for all its materials, as well as for the manner of using them. In landscape it may not appear quite so clear at first, for it may seem that the most uneducated are capable of truly observing and imitating inanimate nature. But even if that were all the art of the landscape painter, the mere manner of execution, and still more the selection of objects, would distinguish at once the rude from the cultivated mind. But when we consider the various sources to which composition in landscape is indebted for its charms, how it must combine, vary and contrast the forms and colors of nature, what wonderful effects may be produced by the mere distribution of light and shade, and, more than all, how it is elevated by historical and poetical associations, we see the immense distance that must separate the educated artist in this department, from the mere observer and copyist of natural scenery. Perhaps this aid of association has become more necessary to give value to this kind of painting, than it was formerly. There is undoubtedly some truth in the remark, though as a complaint it is unreasonable, that we value old pictures partly because they are old. Probably the same things, produced in our own times, would not excite the same enthusiasm, though we think the experiment has not yet been tried. If this be so, the remedy for the artist is, not to complain, but to take advantage of it. Let him, if he thinks the public unduly admire old paintings, contrive to recall them in his own works, not by servile imitation, but by resorting to similar sources in nature. Let him learn to revive in new combinations, forms which have become consecrated objects of taste. All invention consists in new arrangement; and when certain classes of objects have become by association peculiarly agreeable to cultivated minds, as much originality may be displayed and more pleasure imparted

by using them as the elements of composition, than by adopting others in which the same interest is yet to be created. It is for this reason, that the most beautiful composition of American scenery is inferior in interest to an Italian landscape; one is a thing of mere natural beauty, while the other combines a high degree of that with objects of other and more intellectual pleasure. We know that some of our artists and of those who love the Arts, entertain a different opinion on this point, and cherish a patriotic predilection for their native scenery; and we have seen them sometimes a little fretful at the preference given to that of other countries. But the best landscape painters of England and France have gone to Italy for the subjects of their best pictures; and we cannot believe that our own artists are to gain any thing but a very temporary popularity, by discarding the aid of associations which add their greatest charm to the works of established reputation.

In portrait painting, there is the same distinction between the artist and the mere mechanic, though there is not the same choice of subject. When a face is to be portrayed that displays intellect and character, the Art rises to a level with the highest. He can have little notion of the power of painting, who does not perceive at once, the necessity of a high degree of mind in one who undertakes to do justice to the originals of some of the portraits in this Exhibition.

We have made these remarks, not because we think them new, but because the Exhibition shows that our artists need to be reminded of them. It shows more skill than knowledge; more care to execute well, than to conceive what is worth executing. Of the new pictures, among a very few better specimens, there are abundance of portraits that look as if their originals were wholly taken up with the thought of having their likenesses painted; and of landscapes, of which the forms and colors seem chosen for no reason but to fill a canvass. The Exhibition taken together is better than several of the preceding, but that is owing to a judicious selection from the pictures exhibited before, and not to the improvements apparent in the new ones. We should, however, do injustice to Alexander, not to mention his portrait of Captain Morgan, and that of a lady, as marking great progress; and to Osgood, a young artist, to overlook one of his, which is remarkably happy in exhibiting the character and expression of the original, though defective in color.

Two premiums were offered by the Committee, for the best compositions in landscape and in figures. The prominent candidates in landscape, are Fisher and Birch. Doughty has sent nothing to the Exhibition. Fisher's picture represents what we call by a strange misuse of the word, a freshet,—that is, an inundation from the sudden swelling of a river. Birch's is a storm on the sea-coast. On their comparative merits, it is the province of the Committee, and not ours, to decide. We think we have seen better pictures by both the artists. For the other premium, Mr. Weir is the only aspirant; and he too is unfortunate in not being able to enter his best works for it. If earlier notice had been given of the intention of the Committee to offer these premiums, we have no doubt they would have been more effectual.

ART. IX.—*American Library of Useful Knowledge.*
American Library of Useful Knowledge, published by authority of the Boston Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge. Vols. I. and II. Boston. 1831.

Chancellor Oxenstiern told his son, that by going to the Congress of Westphalia, he would soon see how little *wisdom* is employed in governing the world. In looking over the roll of history, one is almost tempted to suppose, that most nations have been occupied the greater part of the time in endeavoring to ascertain by experiment the *minimum* quantity, which is absolutely necessary for this purpose. The Christian world has been for the last fifty years, and is now, very busily engaged in attempting to solve the still more difficult and hazardous problem,—how little *power* is requisite for the same great object. In this country, in particular, we have reduced the action of Government within narrower limits, and given a wider scope to individual liberty than any people that ever flourished before. Our experiment has thus far been eminently successful. Other nations, struck with admiration at the brilliant results which have attended it, have undertaken to follow our example, and, notwithstanding repeated and most signal failures, are still renewing their attempts with determined perseverance. The emancipated Colonies of the new world,—the

most illustrious and highly civilized kingdoms of the old,—have rallied, like us, and in imitation of us, around the standard of individual Liberty. The genius of Britain herself is at last rebuked in the presence of that of our Republic. The haughty step-mother is now condescending to take for a model the daughter whom she so long treated with derision and insult.

What will be the issue of these dangerous experiments? Shall we continue our career with a prosperity corresponding to the fortunate auspices under which it commenced? Will the nations that have acted with less discretion or worse fortune upon our principles, after many unsuccessful trials, at last work out the same glorious results? Or shall we all learn in the sad and bloody school of experience, that we have been led astray by false lights, and be compelled to resort to other, and as we now consider them, exploded maxims of polity?

One thing is certain, and that is, that if the experiment succeed, whether in this country or in Europe, it can only be where the extent of individual knowledge and virtue is increased in exact proportion to that of individual liberty. This truth has been generally felt by the friends of improvement, and hence the unprecedented efforts in the cause of education and popular instruction, which throughout the civilized world have marked the beginning of the present century. The great agent in this work is, undoubtedly, the press. With all their abuses, which no one is more ready to acknowledge and lament than ourselves, we have no hesitation in saying, that the newspapers are the main-spring in the machine of representative Government, and that the system, without their agency, would be entirely impracticable. Books and pamphlets provide the materials that are afterwards to be distributed through daily, weekly, monthly, and quarterly channels, as the various wants of the public may require. Seminaries of instruction, from the infant school to the University, co-operate in the same good work; finally, the ministers of religion proclaim from the pulpit the great truths, which it is the duty of their profession to inculcate, and which furnish a basis and a sanction to the good principles, that may be learned from other sources.

By the concurrence of all these agents, it is hoped that the light of knowledge may be made to penetrate the mass of society, and that a majority of the people will be sufficiently informed and disciplined to do their duty as citizens with

discretion. But is not this very diffusion of knowledge, which is the indispensable condition of liberty, attended itself with dangers and abuses? Undoubtedly it is. The same channels which convey to the public mind the intellectual and moral nutriment, which is absolutely necessary to the life of a Republic, are too often made the conduits of the most virulent intellectual and moral poison. What is the remedy? A preliminary inspection of manuscripts,—an almost complete suppression of newspapers,—the severest laws against offensive publications:—such is the mode of treatment provided by the theory of arbitrary Governments, and hitherto generally used throughout the world. But to acknowledge the necessity of these, is to admit that the great experiment in which the Christian world is engaged has already failed. If knowledge, the diffusion of which throughout the community is indispensable to the existence of free Governments, be itself an edge-tool cutting both ways, and too dangerous to be intrusted to popular hands, it is obvious, that free Governments must be abandoned as a thing entirely impracticable. The theory of liberty supposes, that the diffusion of knowledge carries with it an antidote to all the abuses to which it is liable; that the amount of good sense and good principles conveyed through the channels of the press will, on the whole, exceed that of nonsense and falsehood;—that truth is great, and will finally prevail.

Is this theory correct? This, as will be seen, is the same question under another form with the one proposed above,—whether political institutions as free as those under which we live, are in their nature practicable. We are sometimes visited with strange misgivings on this subject, when we witness the unbridled licentiousness of a portion of the newspaper press, and we incline to think, that further experience will suggest some improvements in the state of legislation, which, without materially infringing on the liberty of the citizen, will put a check upon the grosser forms of this great evil. But even as things now are, we are encouraged by the consoling *fact*, that the system, with all its inconveniences, has thus far *worked well*. It is, however, generally felt by the wise and well-meaning, that every effort should be made to strengthen, as far as possible, those principles which tend to good. With this view, associations have been formed for the distribution,—either gratuitously, or at very low prices,—of useful publications. The

most active, important, and every way remarkable of these, is the Bible Society. Should the future progress of that noble institution correspond,—as there is every reason to hope,—with its present flourishing condition, it will prove, of itself, a sufficient antidote to the mischiefs of a corrupted and corrupting press. Such is our opinion of its utility, that we consider the establishment of it as one of the most important events in the history of the country. Next in order, are the associations for the diffusion of merely secular knowledge, and of these the British Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge is the model. It was founded under the influence of the present illustrious Lord Chancellor of Great Britain. The conception was every way worthy of his great and enlightened mind. The American institution of the same name was established in this city in imitation of it about three years ago ; and although the sphere of its action has been thus far comparatively limited, will, as it gradually extends and developes its resources, effect incalculable good.

The publication of the work before us, which is announced as coming out under the sanction of this institution, is the most considerable effort which it has yet made for the promotion of its great object. Should the undertaking meet, as we have no doubt it will, with the degree of favor which will enable the publishers to make the collection pretty extensive, it will prove a real and lasting benefit to the community. The object is to issue in a cheap form a series of works, partly original and partly selected, in all the most important branches of learning. In the ordinary course of trade, our publishers labor under a constant inducement to deal in the very worst books that are offered them, that is, in such as gratify the public appetite for scandal and vicious excitement. Every popular novel that issues from the London press is seized upon at New-York with a kind of fury, and is in the hands of the reader within twenty-four hours after it reaches the port. No matter how extravagant the style, how detestable the principles :—provided they keep within the line where the public toleration for the time being stops. The greater the scandal the greater the sale. The Pelham and Vivian Grey novels, for example, distinguished as they are for the worst taste in style, and the worst principles of every description, are re-printed in cheap forms, thrust into all the most accessible depositories of books, and forced, as it were, upon the reading public. In the

mean time, books of real value,—books that will be read and admired through the world for centuries,—are not to be procured for love or money. The Essay on Ethical Science by Sir James Mackintosh, a work (if we may judge by the extracts from it, which we have casually seen in the newspapers, and the character of the author) not inferior in elegance and substantial value to the celebrated treatise on Morals by the Father of Roman Eloquence, is not to be bought in this country. Notwithstanding the apparent abundance of books, and the constant outcry about their rapid multiplication and wide circulation, it is a literal fact, that the best which appear are not accessible to the reading public, who, for want of them, are compelled, to the great detriment of their taste and morals, to take up with such as they can get. The effect of the present undertaking will be to apply a partial remedy to this evil; to place at the disposal of the community, in a cheap though at the same time very handsome form, a series of really valuable works on the several branches of learning, which, taken together, will constitute of themselves a tolerably complete family library. Such a plan, if judiciously executed, as we doubt not that it will be, cannot but do a great deal of good, and is well deserving the encouragement of all who have the cause of improvement at heart.

The introductory volume, which is now before us, is occupied by a number of lectures and dissertations on the value and importance of knowledge, which have been delivered or published at different times, by several distinguished persons in this and the mother country. It gives us pleasure to be able to say, that the American portion of the volume is quite equal, in point of literary execution as well as strength and originality of thought, to the European, although the latter is undoubtedly of the highest order of merit. It is not our purpose to examine in detail the scope of each of these Essays, some of which have been before the public in other forms. The Discourse of Judge Story, before the Mechanic Institution, and the Essay of Mr. Edward Everett, on the Importance of Scientific Knowledge, are now published for the first time. We extract from the former, an interesting account of a conversation between the distinguished author and the late lamented Robert Fulton.

'It was in reference to the astonishing impulse thus given to mechanical pursuits, that Dr. Darwin, more than forty years ago, broke out in strains equally remarkable for their poetical enthu-

siasm, and prophetic truth, and predicted the future triumph of the steam-engine.

> "Soon shall thy arm, unconquered steam, afar
> Drag the slow barge, or drive the rapid car;
> Or on wide waving wings expanded bear
> The flying chariot through the fields of air:—
> Fair crews triumphant, leaning from above,
> Shall wave their fluttering kerchiefs as they move,
> Or warrior bands alarm the gaping crowd,
> And armies shrink beneath the shadowy cloud."

What would he have said, if he had but lived to witness the immortal invention of Fulton, which seems almost to move in the air, and to fly on the wings of the wind? And yet how slowly did this enterprise obtain the public favor. I myself have heard the illustrious inventor relate, in an animated and affecting manner, the history of his labors and discouragements. When, said he, I was building my first steam-boat at New-York, the project was viewed by the public either with indifference, or with contempt, as a visionary scheme. My friends, indeed, were civil, but they were shy. They listened with patience to my explanations, but with a settled cast of incredulity on their countenances. I felt the full force of the lamentation of the poet,

> "Truths would you teach, to save a sinking land,
> All fear, none aid you, and few understand."

As I had occasion to pass daily to and from the building-yard, while my boat was in progress, I have often loitered unknown near the idle groups of strangers, gathering in little circles, and heard various inquiries as to the object of this new vehicle. The language was uniformly that of scorn, or sneer, or ridicule. The loud laugh often rose at my expense; the dry jest; the wise calculation of losses and expenditures; the dull but endless repetition of the Fulton Folly. Never did a single encouraging remark, a bright hope, or a warm wish, cross my path. Silence itself was but politeness, veiling its doubts, or hiding its reproaches. At length, the day arrived when the experiment was to be put into operation. To me it was a most trying and interesting occasion. I invited many friends to go on board to witness the first successful trip. Many of them did me the favor to attend, as a matter of personal respect; but it was manifest, that they did it with reluctance, fearing to be the partners of my mortification, and not of my triumph. I was well aware, that in my case there were many reasons to doubt of my own success. The machinery was new and ill made; many parts of it were constructed by mechanics unaccustomed to such work; and unexpected difficulties might reasonably be presumed to present themselves from

other causes. The moment arrived, in which the word was to be given for the vessel to move. My friends were in groups on the deck. There was anxiety mixed with fear among them. They were silent, and sad, and weary. I read in their looks nothing but disaster, and almost repented of my efforts. The signal was given, and the boat moved on a short distance, and then stopped, and became immovable. To the silence of the preceding moment now succeeded murmurs of discontent, and agitations, and whispers, and shrugs. I could hear distinctly repeated, "I told you it would be so,—it is a foolish scheme,—I wish we were well out of it." I elevated myself upon a platform, and addressed the assembly. I stated that I knew not what was the matter; but if they would be quiet, and indulge me for a half hour, I would either go on, or abandon the voyage for that time. This short respite was conceded without objection. I went below, examined the machinery, and discovered that the cause was a slight mal-adjustment of some of the work. In a short period it was obviated. The boat was put again in motion. She continued to move on. All were still incredulous. None seemed willing to trust the evidence of their own senses. We left the fair city of New-York; we passed through the romantic and ever-varying scenery of the highlands; we descried the clustering houses of Albany; we reached its shores; and then, even then, when all seemed achieved, I was the victim of disappointment. Imagination superseded the influence of fact. It was then doubted, if it could be done again; or if done, it was doubted if it could be made of any great value.

'Such was the history of the first experiment, as it fell, not in the very language which I have used, but in its substance, from the lips of the inventor. He did not live indeed to enjoy the full glory of his invention. It is mournful to say, that attempts were made to rob him in the first place of the merits of his invention, and next of its fruits. He fell a victim to his efforts to sustain his title to both. When already his invention had covered the waters of the Hudson, he seemed little satisfied with the results, and looked forward to far more extensive operations. My ultimate triumph, he used to say, my ultimate triumph will be on the Mississippi. I know, indeed, that even now it is deemed impossible by many, that the difficulties of its navigation can be overcome. But I am confident of success. I may not live to see it; but the Mississippi will yet be covered by steam-boats; and thus an entire change be wrought in the course of the internal navigation and commerce of our country.'

The Essay of Mr. Everett contains a very interesting passage on the same subject.

'A portion of the intellect, which has been placed on this goodly theatre, is wisely, intently, and successfully active; ripening, even on earth, into no mean similitude of higher natures. From time to time, a chosen hand, sometimes directed by chance, but more commonly guided by reflection, experiment, and research, touches, as it were, a spring till then unperceived; and through what seemed a blank and impenetrable wall,—the barrier to all further progress,—a door is thrown open into some before unexplored hall in the sacred temple of truth. The multitude rushes in, and wonders that the portals could have remained concealed so long. When a brilliant discovery or invention is proclaimed, men are astonished to think how long they had lived on its confines, without penetrating its nature.

'It is now a hundred years since it was found out that the vapor of boiling water is, as we now think it, the most powerful mechanical agent within the control of man. And yet, even after the contrivance of the steam-engine on a most improved construction, and although the thoughts of numerous ingenious mechanicians were turned to the subject, and various experiments made, it was left for our fellow-citizen Fulton, in a successful application of this agent, as brilliant as its first discovery, to produce another engine,—the steam-boat,—of incalculable utility and power. The entire consequences of this discovery cannot yet be predicted; but there is one prediction relative to it, and that among the first ever made, which has been most calamitously fulfilled. When the interests of Mr. Fulton, under the laws of New-York, were maintained by Mr. Emmet at the bar of the Legislature of that State, at the close of his argument, he turned to his client, in an affecting apostrophe. After commending the disinterestedness with which he devoted his time, talents, and knowledge to enterprises and works of public utility, to the injury of his private fortunes, he added, "Let me remind you, however, that you have other and closer ties. I know the pain I am about to give, and I see the tears I make you shed. But by that love I speak,—by that love, which like the light of Heaven, is refracted in rays of different strength, upon your wife and children, which, when collected and combined, forms the sunshine of your soul;—by that love I do adjure you, provide in time for those dearest objects of your care. Think not I would instil into your mind a mean or sordid feeling; but now, that wealth is passing through your hands, let me entreat you to hoard it while you have it." And then, after sketching the dangers which threatened his interests as guarantied by the laws of the State, Mr. Emmet prophetically added, "Yes, my friend, my heart bleeds while I utter it, but I have fearful forebodings, that you may hereafter find in public

faith a broken staff for your support, and receive from public gratitude a broken heart for your reward." From the time this prediction was uttered, the stupendous consequences of the invention of Fulton have been, every day, more and more amply developed. It has brought into convenient neighborhood with each other some of the remotest settlements on the waters of the United States. It has made the Mississippi navigable up stream as well as down,—which it hardly was before,—incredibly accelerating, in time of peace, the settlement of its mighty valley, and making it henceforth invulnerable in time of war. It has added beyond all estimate to the value of the time, and to the amount of the capital, of a large portion of the population of the country; and without impairing the importance of these benefits to America, has as signally imparted them, or similar benefits, to Europe, and the rest of the civilized world. While these grand developements of the character of Fulton's invention have been taking place, the life, the estate, the family of the great inventor, have, one after another, been sacrificed and crushed. Within a few months after the eloquent appeal just recited was made, Fulton actually died of disease contracted by exposure in the gratuitous service of the public. In a few years, a decision of the Supreme Court of the United States scattered the remains of his property to the winds; and twice or thrice since that period, has an appeal been made to Congress, on behalf of his orphan children, for such a provision as would spare them from the alternative of charity or starvation,—and has been made in vain.'

The following passage forms the conclusion of Mr. Everett's Lecture on the Working Men's Party.

'Before I close this Lecture, permit me to dwell for a short time on the principle, which I have had occasion to advance above, that the immortal element in our nature,—the reasoning soul,—is the inheritance of all our race. As it is this which makes man superior to the beasts that perish; so it is this, which, in its moral and intellectual endowments, is the sole foundation for the only distinctions between man and man, which have any real value. This consideration shows the value of institutions for education and for the diffusion of knowledge. It was no magic, no miracle, which made Newton, and Franklin, and Fulton. It was the patient, judicious, long-continued cultivation of powers of the understanding, eminent, no doubt, in degree, but not different in kind, from those which are possessed by every individual in this assembly.

'Let every one, then, reflect, especially every person not yet

passed the forming period of his life, that he carries about in his frame as in a casket, the most glorious thing, which, this side Heaven, God has been pleased to create, an intelligent spirit. To describe its nature, to enumerate its faculties, to set forth what it has done, to estimate what it can do, would require the labor of a life devoted to the history of Man. It would be vain, on this occasion and in these limits to attempt it. But let any man compare his own nature with that of a plant, of a brute beast, of an idiot, of a savage; and then consider that it is in mind alone, and the degree to which he improves it, that he differs essentially from any of them.

'And let no one think he wants opportunity, encouragement or means.—I would not undervalue these, any or all of them, but compared with what the man does for himself, they are of little account. Industry, temperance, and perseverance are worth more than all the patrons, that ever lived in all the Augustan ages. It is these, that create patronage and opportunity. The cases of our Franklin and Fulton are too familiar to bear repetition. Consider that of Sir Humphrey Davy, who died last year, and who was in many departments of science, the first philosopher of the age.—He was born at Penzance in Cornwall, one of the darkest corners of England; his father was a carver of wooden images for signs, and figure-heads, and chimney-pieces. He himself was apprenticed to an apothecary, and made his first experiments in chemistry with his master's phials and gallipots, aided by an old syringe, which had been given him by the surgeon of a French vessel, wrecked on the Land's End. From the shop of the apothecary, he was transferred to the office of a surgeon; and never appears to have had any other education, than that of a Cornish school, in his boyhood. Such was the beginning of the career of the man, who, at the age of twenty-two, was selected, by our own countryman, Count Rumford, (himself a self-taught benefactor of mankind,) to fill the chair of Chemistry at the Royal Institution, in London; such was the origin and education of the man, who discovered the metallic basis of the alkalis and the earths; invented the safety-lamp; and placed himself in a few years, in the chair of the Royal Society of London, and at the head of the chemists of Europe. Sir Humphrey Davy's most brilliant discoveries were effected by his skilful application of the Galvanic Electricity, a principle, whose existence had been detected, a few years before, by an Italian philosopher, from noticing the contractions of a frog's limbs suspended on an iron hook, a fact which shows how near us, in every direction, the most curious facts lie scattered by nature. With an apparatus, contrived by himself to collect and condense this powerful agent, Sir Humphrey succeeded in decomposing the earths and the alkalis; and

in extracting from common potash, the metal (before unknown) of which it consists;—possessing at 70° of the thermometer the lustre and general appearance of mercury, at 50°, the appearance of polished silver and the softness of wax; so light that it swims in water; and so inflammable that it takes fire, when thrown on ice.

'These are perhaps but brilliant novelties; though connected, no doubt, in the great chain of cause and effect, with principles of art and science, conducive to the service of man. But the invention of the safety-lamp, which enables the miner to walk unharmed through an atmosphere of explosive gas, and has already saved the lives of hundreds of human beings, is a title to glory and the gratitude of his fellow-men, which the most renowned destroyer of his race might envy.

'The counsels of such a man, in his retirement and meditation, are worth listening to. I am sure you will think I bring this Lecture to the best conclusion, by repeating a sentence from one of his moral works.

'"I envy," says he, "no quality of the mind or intellect in others; not genius, power, wit or fancy; but if I could choose what would be most delightful, and I believe most useful to me, I should prefer A FIRM RELIGIOUS BELIEF to every other blessing."'

Mr. Webster's Lecture before the Mechanic Institution, though comparatively short, exhibits his usual strong sense and plain, manly eloquence. The following passage is interesting in itself, and displays an acquaintance with the history and principles of the Fine Arts, which would scarcely have been expected in one so deeply engaged in other pursuits and studies.

'Another interesting fact is before us. New taste and a new excitement are evidently springing up in our vicinity, in regard to an art, which, as it unites in a singular degree, utility and beauty, affords inviting encouragements to genius and skill. I mean Architecture. Architecture is military, naval, sacred, civil, or domestic. Naval architecture, certainly, is of the highest importance to a commercial and navigating people, to say nothing of its intimate and essential connexion with the means of national defence. This science should not be regarded as having already reached its utmost perfection. It seems to have been some time in a course of rapid advancement. The building, the rigging, the navigating of ships, have, to every one's conviction, been subjects of great improvement within the last fifteen years. And where, rather than in New-England, may still further im-

provements be looked for? Where is ship-building either a greater business, or pursued with more skill and eagerness?

'In civil, sacred, and domestic architecture, present appearances authorize the strongest hopes of improvement. These hopes rest, among other things, on unambiguous indications of the growing prevalence of a just taste. The principles of architecture are founded in nature, or good sense, as much as the principles of epic poetry. The art constitutes a beautiful medium, between what belongs to mere fancy, and what belongs entirely to the exact sciences. In its forms and modifications, it admits of infinite variation, giving broad room for invention and genius; while, in its general principles, it is founded on that which long experience and the concurrent judgment of ages have ascertained to be generally pleasing. Certain relations of parts to parts have been satisfactory to all the cultivated generations of men. These relations constitute what is called *proportion*, and this is the great basis of architectural art. This established proportion is not to be *followed* merely because it is ancient, but because its use, and the pleasure which it has been found capable of giving to the mind, through the eye, in ancient times, and modern times, and all civilized times, prove that its principles are well-founded, and just; in the same manner that the Iliad is proved, by the consent of all ages, to be a good poem.

'Architecture, I have said, is an art that unites, in a singular manner, the useful and the beautiful. It is not to be inferred from this, that every thing in architecture is beautiful, or is to be so esteemed, in exact proportion to its apparent utility. No more is meant, than that nothing which evidently thwarts utility, can or ought to be accounted beautiful; because, in every work of art, the design is to be regarded, and what defeats that design, cannot be considered as well done. The French rhetoricians have a maxim, that in literary composition, "nothing is beautiful which is not true." They do not intend to say, that strict and literal truth is alone beautiful in poetry or oratory; but they mean that that which grossly offends against probability, is not in good taste in either. The same relation subsists between beauty and utility in architecture, as between truth and imagination in poetry. Utility is not to be obviously sacrificed to beauty, in the one case; truth and probability are not to be outraged for the cause of fiction and fancy, in the other. In the severer styles of architecture, beauty and utility approach, so as to be almost identical. Where utility is more strongly than ordinary the main design, the proportions which produce it, raise the sense or feeling of beauty, by a sort of reflection or deduction of the mind. It is said that ancient Rome had, perhaps, no finer specimens of the classic Doric, than were in the sewers which ran under her

streets, and which were of course always to be covered from human observation; so true is it, that cultivated taste is always pleased with justness of proportion; and that design, seen to be accomplished, gives pleasure. The discovery and fast increasing use of a noble material, found in vast abundance, nearer to our cities than the Pentelican quarries to Athens, may well awaken, as they do, new attention to architectural improvement. If this material be not entirely well-suited to the elegant Ionic, or the rich Corinthian, it is yet fitted, beyond marble, beyond perhaps almost any other material, for the Doric, of which the appropriate character is strength, and for the Gothic, of which the appropriate character is grandeur.

'It is not more than justice, perhaps, to our ancestors, to call the Gothic the English classic architecture; for in England, probably, are its most distinguished specimens. As its leading characteristic is grandeur, its main use would seem to be sacred. It had its origin, indeed, in ecclesiastical architecture. Its evident design was to surpass the ancient orders, by the size of the structure and its far greater heights; to excite perceptions of beauty, by the branching traceries and the gorgeous tabernacles within; and to inspire religious awe and reverence by the lofty pointed arches;—the flying buttresses, the spires, and the pinnacles, springing from beneath, stretching upwards towards the heavens with the prayers of the worshippers. Architectural beauty having always a direct reference to utility, edifices, whether civil or sacred, must of course undergo different changes, in different places, on account of climate, and in different ages, on account of the different states of other arts, or different notions of convenience. The hypethral temple, for example, or temple without a roof, is not to be thought of in our latitudes; and the use of glass, a thing not now to be dispensed with, is also to be accommodated, as well as it may be, to the architectural structure. These necessary variations, and many more admissible ones, give room for improvements to an indefinite extent, without departing from the principles of true taste. May we not hope, then, to see our own city celebrated as the city of architectural excellence? May we not hope, to see our native granite reposing in the ever-during strength of the Doric, or springing up in the grand and lofty Gothic, in forms which beauty and utility, the eye and the judgment, taste and devotion, shall unite to approve and to admire? But while we regard sacred and civil architecture as highly important, let us not forget that other branch, so essential to personal comfort and happiness,—domestic architecture, or common house-building. In ancient times in all Governments, and under despotic Governments in all times, the convenience or gratification of the monarch, the Government or the

public, has been allowed too often to put aside considerations of personal and individual happiness. With us, different ideas happily prevail. With us, it is not the public, or the Government, in its corporate character, that is the only object of regard. The public happiness is to be the aggregate of the happiness of individuals. Our system begins with the individual man. It begins with him when he leaves the cradle; and it proposes to instruct him in knowledge and in morals, to prepare him for his state of manhood; on his arrival at that state, to invest him with political rights, to protect him, in his property and pursuits, and in his family and social connexions; and thus to enable him to enjoy as an individual moral, and rational being, what belongs to a moral and rational being. For the same reason, the Arts are to be promoted for their general utility, as they affect the personal happiness and well-being of the individuals who compose the community. It would be adverse to the whole spirit of our system, that we should have gorgeous and expensive public buildings, if individuals were at the same time to live in houses of mud. Our public edifices are to be reared by the surplus of wealth, and the savings of labor, after the necessities and comforts of individuals are provided for; and not, like the Pyramids, by the unremitted toil of thousands of half-starved slaves. Domestic architecture, therefore, as connected with individual comfort and happiness, is to hold a first place in the esteem of our artists. Let our citizens have houses cheap, but comfortable; not gaudy, but in good taste; not judged by the portion of earth which they cover, but by their symmetry, their fitness for use, and their durability.'

The Essays of Lord Chancellor Brougham on the Pleasures and Advantages of Science, and of Mr. Herschel on the Study of Natural Philosophy, are highly valuable and well worthy of a diligent study. The great name of Herschel bids fair to retain in the present generation the just distinction which it acquired in the last; and the title of Lord Chancellor of England will derive from its connexion with that of Henry Brougham a dignity which it has not possessed before since the days of Bacon.

If there be any exceptionable feature in the complexion of the volume before us, it is perhaps a disposition to exalt the importance of the mechanical and physical, in comparison with that of the intellectual, moral, and political sciences. In the American portion of the volume, this disposition is a natural result of the fact, that the Essays composing it were addressed to an association of practical mechanics, and might naturally be expected to treat of subjects connected with their immediate

pursuits. The essay of Mr. Herschel is also professedly upon the study of natural philosophy, and he could not, of course, without a departure from his subject, introduce any considerable discussion of any other department. But we do not so distinctly see why Mr. Brougham, in a discourse which treats of the pleasures and advantages of science in general, after specifying in his division of the subject the branches which relate to mind, as composing one great and distinct department, should in his developement, pass over this department, and confine himself entirely to that of physical science. The cultivation of both the great departments of learning is indispensable to the complete developement of the mind, and the healthy progress of society. It is therefore unnecessary to attempt to estimate their comparative importance; but if the question were made, we should all answer without hesitation, that the preference must be given to such pursuits and studies, as belong to our moral and intellectual nature. The acquisition of a knowledge of new facts and combinations in the material world affords, no doubt, an agreeable occupation, and gratifies an innocent and even laudable curiosity. But the study of mind, whether in its individual existence, or in its religious, social, and political relations, awakens an interest of a far more deep and absorbing character. The advantage, therefore, on the score of pleasure, is decidedly in favor of the moral sciences, inasmuch as the pleasure we derive from any pursuit is uniformly proportional to the interest which we feel in it. The superiority of the moral sciences in practical importance is even more obvious. The object of the physical sciences and the mechanic arts is merely to increase the facilities for transacting the material business, and obtaining the material enjoyments of life. The most they can do, is to give us at a cheaper rate the 'meat, clothes and fire,' which, according to the just remark of the great moral poet, compose the sum and substance of all that is necessary to material welfare. On the other hand, the object of the moral sciences is to guide our conduct as intellectual, moral, and social beings, in the various relations in which we are placed as members of the family, the State, and the great intellectual system. They teach us our duty as fathers, children, husbands, wives, brothers, neighbors, and citizens. They regulate the great concerns of education and Government. They instruct us in those momentous truths, which concern

alike our present and future existence. How much more important is it, that our notions on these subjects should be full and clear, than that our cotton cloth should be ten, instead of twenty cents a yard, or our sugar cheaper by a half-penny a pound! We say not this for the purpose of disparaging the physical sciences, or their application to the mechanic arts. There is room in the world for all sorts of occupations; and it is important, that all the branches of art and science should be carried to the highest possible degree of perfection. We merely intend to remark as a feature in some of these essays, the disposition to leave almost entirely out of view the *more important* of the two great divisions of science, and to attend exclusively to the *less important* one. This disposition is, we think, in some degree characteristic of the general pursuits and occupations of the age. As one of the minor symptoms of this tendency, we may remark, that in the London University, an institution founded substantially under the same auspices with the British Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, the chairs of moral science were for a long time, and as far as we are informed, still are vacant; partly, we suppose, from the want of interest in the directors in this branch of learning, and partly from the difficulty of finding suitable persons: both causes being only different indications of the same general fact. At Harvard College, in like manner, there are ten or fifteen persons employed in different ways in giving instruction in physical science; while the whole vast field of moral philosophy is intrusted to one. In short, the great glory of the modern world lies in the cultivation of physical science, and its application to the useful arts. The improvement of moral science has not by any means been proportional; and it might not perhaps be difficult to trace to the comparative neglect of this study and its consequently less improved state, some of the practical defects in the social and political condition of the nations of Christendom. But this inquiry is too extensive, to be entered on at present. We have little doubt, that the publishers of the work before us will make up for their apparent inattention to the moral sciences in the introductory volume, by allowing them a larger space, and a fuller developement in those that are to follow.

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